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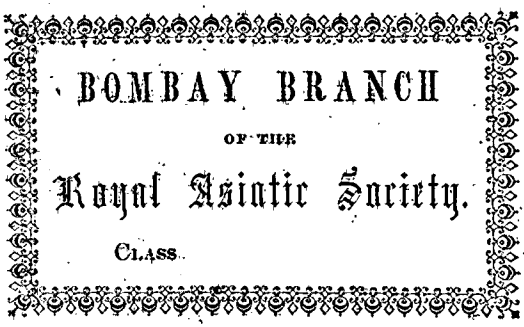

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THE

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

NN. b. 5

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Librarian of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

In FIVE VOLUMES.

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FIFTH VOLUME.

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TO

A

LETTER

FROM

ROME,

Shewing an exact CONFORMITY between

POPERY

AND

PAGANISM:

OR

The Religion of the Preſent ROMANS, derived from that of their HEATHEN ANCESTORS.

To the Right Reverend Father in God,

THOMAS,

Lord Biſhop of NORWICH.

My LORD,

IF the ſubject of the following ſheets be *not a ſufficient* plea, for addreſſing them to a perſon of Your *Lordſhip's character*, I can alledge another, which will give them a kind of right to Your protection; that it is owing chiefly to Your authority, that they are now offered again to the public, in this new and different form; enlarged with a prefatory anſwer to the exceptions of a Popiſh Writer, who has charged them with falſehood and miſrepreſentation; not in any of the facts, which they contain, but in the

concluſions, deduced from thoſe facts, to the diſhonor of his Church. Your Lordſhip, who in every part of Your life, has diſtinguiſhed Yourſelf, by a juſt zeal againſt the Popiſh intereſt, thought it neceſſary for me, to take notice of an author, who has the hardineſs to revive an exploded cauſe, and to publiſh an elaborate defenſe of the Romiſh Church in our very Metropolis. Thus far however he muſt be allowed to act like a generous adverſary, in referring the merit of his argument to the trial of the Preſs; which in all countries, where it can have it's free courſe, will ever be found the ſureſt guardian of right and truth; and to which this particular country, among the many great bleſſings, which it enjoys, is manifeſtly indebted for one of the greateſt, *it's deliverance from a Popiſh Slavery*; as all our Hiſtories teſtify, from the Reformation, down to this day. In the very infancy of printing amongſt us, *Cardinal Wolſey* foreſaw this effect of it; and in a Speech to the Clergy, publicly forewarned them, that, *if they did not deſtroy the Preſs, the Preſs would deſtroy them.*

If

If my endeavours therefore ſhould be of any ſervice towards verifying the Cardinal's prediction; or ſhould in any degree anſwer Your Lordſhip's views, of giving ſome check to the reſtleſs ſpirit of *Rome*, which, how often ſoever repulſed, will always be renewing it's attacks, *I ſhall gain the* end, that I *propoſed* by them. But while I was flattering myſelf with this hope, and fancying myſelf engaged in a laudable attempt, of diſarming theſe profeſſed enemies of our religion and liberty; there were ſome, as Your Lordſhip knows, even of our own Church, whoſe diſpleaſure I incurred, and whoſe reſentment I have felt, on the account of this very work: who, from the different motives of party, or envy, or prejudices haſtily conceived againſt me, were ready to join in any clamor, that could blaſt the credit of my performance. To ſuch of theſe, as profeſs to act from any good principle, I have endeavoured to give ſome ſatisfaction in my Preface; but my chief comfort is, in this decline of life, that I can appeal to Your Lordſhip, who knew me from the beginning of it; and under all the attempts to depreſs my character, and all the ſuſpicions

of thoſe, who were ſtrangers to it, continued ſtill to treat me with all the uſual marks of Your friendſhip, as believing me incapable of harbouring any thought, or purſuing any deſign, which could be injurious to virtue, and true religion.

For Your Lordſhip had always too enlarged and liberal a way of thinking, to judge of men or things, by the narrow views or prejudices of a party; and ſuperior to all the impreſſions of envy or ſpleen, was ever ready to encourage merit, whereſoever You obſerved it. This has been Your conſtant rule of acting in the Univerſity; where, as a Governor of our Youth, You have lived an example of that diſcipline, which You injoined to others; punctual in diſcharging all the duties of Your Station; nor more forward to preſcribe, than diligent to perform every thing, that tended to promote religion, good manners, and good learning.

Theſe ſame qualities, which now exert themſelves in a higher ſphere, are acknowledged by the general voice of the Dioceſe, over

over which You preſide; where all people loudly celebrate Your Lordſhip's unwearied application to the labors of Your Epiſcopal charge; Your continual care, as a common Paſtor of all, to extend the benefits of it equally to all; Your beneficence to the poor, obliging behaviour to the rich; Your generous and *hoſpitable* table, open to all, who ſeek acceſs to You; where You know, how to unite the character of the Gentleman, with that of the Prelate; to create an eaſe and chearfulneſs around You, and without deſcending from Your dignity, to enter into a familiarity with Your gueſts. By theſe arts, You have gained the affections both of Your Clergy and Laity; and in a country, unhappily divided into parties, have effected, what was hardly thought poſſible, an agreement of all parties in their eſteem and praiſes of Your Lordſhip. By ſuch happy fruits of Your prudence, Your affability, and your moderation in governing, You have ſhewn what are the moſt probable means of healing our public diſſenſions; and that the Church, in proportion as it has more ſuch Biſhops, will always have the fewer enemies.

DEDICATION.

That Your Lordſhip may long enjoy that peculiar vigor of mind and body, which has enabled You to diſcharge all the important offices, through which You have paſſed, with honor to Yourſelf and benefit to the public, is the ſincere wiſh of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged

and faithful Servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

A

Prefatory Diſcourſe.

A Late writer of a *Popiſh* book, intituled, *The Catholic Chriſtian inſtructed*, &c. has thought fit, in a preface to that work, to attempt a confutation of my *Letter from Rome*; " which every reader, *he ſays*, " whether Proteſtant or Papiſt, would expect, " that he ſhould take ſome notice of, as it is " directly levelled at their ceremonies, and has " been ſo well received, as to paſs through " three Editions within the compaſs of a few " years."

I cannot *think it ſtrange*, that a man, whoſe avowed deſign and ſole employment amongſt us is, to make converts to the *Romiſh Church*, ſhould treat a work with ſome acrimony, that was publiſhed with no other view, than to blaſt his hopes, and obſtruct his endeavours, to delude the people of this nation: but it gives me a ſenſible pleaſure to obſerve, what theſe Miſſionaries of *Rome* are forced to confeſs, that my little performance is a real obſtacle to their deſigns; and that one of the firſt ſteps neceſſary towards advancing the *Popiſh* Intereſt in *England*,

land, is to overthrow the credit both of the Letter, and it's Author.

Our *Catholic* therefore, in the execution of this taſk, ſets out with a general Accuſation againſt me of *foul play*, and *diſingenuity*, and *a reſolution* to *ſuppreſs the truth*; becauſe my charge againſt them is grounded onely, he ſays, "on certain ceremonies and obſervan-"ces of leſs moment, without taking notice "of the ſubſtantial parts of their religion; "their belief of the Scriptures; of the three "Creeds; of the Trinity; the Euchariſt Sa-"crifice, *&c.* which none will pretend to be "derived to them from the *Pagans*." This is artfully thrown out, to confound the true ſtate of the queſtion; and to prepoſſeſs the reader with a notion, that, inſtead of *Popery*, I am attacking Chriſtianity itſelf, and ſuſtaining the cauſe of Infidelity, not of Proteſtantiſm; but every man of ſenſe will diſcern the fallacy, and obſerve, that it is *Popery* alone, with which I am engaged; or that Syſtem of Ceremonies and doctrines, which is peculiar to the *Romiſh Church*, as diſtinguiſhed from other Chriſtian Churches: the ſource of which I have undertaken to lay open, and by an hiſtorical deduction of facts, to trace it's origin in a direct line, from *Pagan* down to *Popiſh Rome*.

In

In the farther ſupport of this charge, I ſhall now procede to examine our Author's exceptions to it, in the order as they lie in his Preface, and vindicate all the particular proofs of it alledged in my Letter, to which, he has thought proper to give any anſwer: the chief of which, as he tells us, are, " Incenſe; Holy " Water; Lamps and Candles; Votive offer- " ings; Images; Chapels on the wayſides and " tops of Hills; Proceſſions; Miracles [*a*]." On theſe I ſhall join iſſue with him; and endeavour to ſhew, that his defenſe of them is not only frivolous and evaſive, but tends rather to confirm than to confute the inference which I have drawn from them.

As to ſeveral of theſe articles, he makes one general *Apology*; that I " am miſtaken, in think- " ing every ceremony *uſed by* the Heathens, to " be Heatheniſh, ſince the greateſt part were bor- " rowed from the worſhip of the true God; in " imitation of which, the Devil affected to have " his Temples, Altars, Prieſts, and Sacrifices, " and all other things, which were uſed in the " true worſhip." This he applies to the caſe of *Incenſe*, *Lamps*, *Holy-water*, *and Proceſſions*; and adds, " that if I had been as well read in " the Scriptures, as I would ſeem to be in the " Heathen Poets, I ſhould have found the uſe

[*a*] Pref. ib. p. 4.

" of

" of all theſe in the Temple of God, and that by God's appointment [*b*]."

I ſhall not diſpute with him about the origin of theſe rites; whether they were *firſt inſtituted by Moſes*, or were of *prior uſe and antiquity among the Ægyptians*. The Scriptures favour the laſt; which our *Spenſer* ſtrongly aſſerts, and their *Calmet* and *Huetius* allow: but ſhould we grant him all, that he can infer from his argument, what will he gain by it? Were not all *thoſe beggarly elements*, wiped away by the ſpiritual worſhip of the Goſpel? Were they not all annulled, on the account of *their weakneſs and unprofitableneſs*, by the more perfect revelation of *Jeſus Chriſt* [*c*]? If then I ſhould acknowledge my miſtake, and recall my words; and inſtead of *Pagan*, call them *Jewiſh* ceremonies, would not the uſe of *Jewiſh rites* be abominable ſtill in a *Chriſtian Church*, where they are expreſsly aboliſhed and prohibited by God himſelf?

But to purſue his argument a little farther: while the *Moſaic* worſhip ſubſiſted by divine appointment in *Jeruſalem*, *the Devil likewiſe*, as he tells us, *had Temples and Ceremonies of the ſame kind* in order to draw Votaries to his Idolatrous worſhip: which, after the abolition of the *Jewiſh* Service, was carried on ſtill with

[*b*] Pref. 5. 8. [*c*] Galat. iv. 9. Heb. vii. 18.

great

great pomp and ſplendor; and, above all places, in *Rome*, the principal ſeat of his worldly Empire. Now it is certain, that in the early times of the Goſpel, the Chriſtians of *Rome* were celebrated for their zealous adherence to the faith of Chriſt, as it was delivered to them by the Apoſtles, pure from every mixture either of *Jewiſh or Heatheniſh Superſtition*; till after a ſucceſſion of ages, as they began gradually to deviate from that Apoſtolic ſimplicity, they introduced at different times into the Church the particular ceremonies in queſtion. Whence then can we think it probable, that they ſhould borrow them? From the *Jewiſh* or the *Pagan* ritual? From a Temple, remote, deſpiſed, and demoliſhed by the *Romans* themſelves; or from Temples and Altars perpetually in their View, and ſubſiſting in their ſtreets; in which their *Anceſtors* and Fellow-Citizens had conſtantly worſhiped? *The queſtion* can hardly admit any diſpute: The humor of the people, as well as intereſt of a corrupted Prieſthood would invite them, to adopt ſuch rites, as were native to the ſoil, and found upon the place; and which long experience had ſhewn to be uſeful, to the acquiſition both of wealth and power. Thus by the moſt candid conſtruction of this Author's reaſoning, we muſt neceſſarily call their ceremonies *Jewiſh*; or by puſhing it to it's full length, ſhall be obliged to call them, *Deviliſh*.

He

He obſerves; that I begin my charge with the uſe of *Incenſe*, as the moſt notorious proof of their Paganiſm, and, *like an artfull Rhetorician, place my ſtrongeſt argument in the front* [*d*]. Yet he knows, that I have aſſigned a different reaſon, for offering that the firſt: becauſe it is *the firſt thing*, that ſtrikes the ſenſes, and ſurprizes a ſtranger, upon his entrance into their Churches. But it ſhall be my ſtrongeſt proof, if he will have it ſo, ſince he has brought nothing, I am ſure, to weaken the force of it. He tells us, that there was *an Altar of Incenſe in the Temple of Jeruſalem*; and is ſurprized therefore, how I can call it *Heatheniſh:* Yet it is evident, from the nature of that inſtitution, that it was never deſigned to be perpetual; and that, during it's continuance, God would never have approved *any other Altar*, either in *Jeruſalem*, or any where elſe. But let him anſwer directly to this plain queſtion; was there ever *a temple in the world not ſtrictly Heatheniſh*, in which there were *ſeveral Altars, all ſmoaking with incenſe, within one view, and at one and the ſame time?* It is certain, that he muſt anſwer in the Negative: Yet it is as certain, that there were many ſuch Temples in *Pagan Rome*; and are as many ſtill in *Chriſtian Rome:* and ſince there never was an example of it, but what was *Paganiſh*, before the times of *Popery*, how

[*d*] Pref. p. 5.

is

is it poſſible, that it could be derived to them from any other ſource? or when we ſee ſo exact a reſemblance in the copy, how can there be any doubt about the original?

What he alledges therefore in favor of *incenſe*, is nothing to the purpoſe; "that it was uſed "in the Jewiſh and is of great antiquity in the "Chriſtian Church; and that it is mentioned "*with honor* in the ſcriptures;" which frequently *compare it to Prayer*, and ſpeak of it's *ſweet odors aſcending up to God*, &c. which figurative expreſſions, he ſays, "would never have "been borrowed by the ſacred Penmen from "Heatheniſh ſuperſtition [*e*]": as if ſuch alluſions were leſs proper, or the thing itſelf leſs ſweet, for it's being applied to the purpoſes of Idolatry; as it conſtantly was, in the times even of the *ſame Penmen*, and according to their own accounts, on the *Altars of Baal*, and the other *Heathen Idols:* and when *Jeremiah* rebukes the people of *Judah* for *burning incenſe to the Queen of heaven* [*f*], one can hardly help imagining, that he is prophetically pointing out the worſhip now paid to *the Virgin*; to whom they actually *burn incenſe* at this day under that very title [*g*].

[*e*] Pref. p. 6. [*f*] Jerem. xliv. 17.

[*g*] Vid. Offic. Beatæ Virg. Salve Regnia; Ave Regina cœlorum; Domina Angelorum, &c.

But

But if it be a juſt ground for retaining a practice in *the Chriſtian* Church, becauſe it was injoined to the *Jews*; what will our *Catholic* ſay for thoſe uſages, which were actually prohibited to the *Jews*, and never practiſed by any, but by the *Heathens and the Papiſts?*—All *the Ægyptian Prieſts*, as *Herodotus* informs us, *had their heads ſhaved and kept continually bald* [*b*]. Thus the Emperor, *Commodus*, that he might be admitted into that order, *got himſelf ſhaved, and carried the God Anubis in proceſſion* [*i*]. And it was on this account moſt probably, that the *Jewiſh Prieſts* were commanded, *not to ſhave their heads, nor to make any baldneſs upon them* [*k*]. Yet this *pagan raſure*, or *tonſure*, as they chuſe to call it, on the crown *of the head*, has long been the diſtinguiſhing mark of *the Romiſh Prieſthood*. It was on the ſame account, we may imagine, that the *Jewiſh Prieſts were forbidden to make any cuttings in their fleſh* [*l*]; ſince that likewiſe was the common practice of certain *Prieſts and Devotees among the Heathens*, in order to acquire the fame of a more exalted ſanctity. Yet the ſame diſcipline, as I have

[*b*] Herodot. l. ii. 36.

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, & grege calvo.
Juv. vi. 33.

[*i*] Sacra Iſidis coluit, ut & caput raderet & Anubin portaret. Lamprid. in Commod. 9.

[*k*] Levitic. xxi. 5. Ezech. xliv. 20.

[*l*] Levitic. xix. 28, xxi. 5.

ſhewn

ſhewn in my *Letter*, is conſtantly practiſed at *Rome*, in ſome of their ſolemn ſeaſons and proceſſions, in imitation of thoſe *Pagan Enthuſiaſts*: as if they ſearched the Scriptures, to learn, not ſo much what was injoined by the true religion, as what had been uſefull at any time in a falſe one, to delude the multitude, and ſupport an impoſture.

Our Author makes the ſame apology for *Holy water*, that he has juſt made for *Incenſe*; that, in the *Moſaic law*, *we find the mention of a water ſanctified for religious uſes*; which cannot therefore be called *Heatheniſh*; and that I might, with as good a grace have proved *the Sacrament of Baptiſm to be Heatheniſh*, as their uſe of *Holy water* [*m*]. It is ſurprizing, to hear ſuch a defenſe from any one, who calls himſelf a Chriſtian. *The Sacrament of Baptiſm* was ordained by *Chriſt*, *in the moſt* ſolemn manner, and for the moſt ſolemn purpoſe, *as the eſſential rite of* our initiation into his Church; while there is not the leaſt hint in any part of the Goſpel, that *any other water* was either neceſſary, or proper, or uſeful in any degree to the waſhing away of ſin. But our Author's zeal ſeems to have carried him here beyond his prudence; and he forgets what ground he is treading, if he fancies, that he can defend, in this proteſtant country, what he might affirm with applauſe in a *popiſh*; that *the inſtitutions of Chriſt* ſtand upon

[*m*] Pref. p. 7.

no better foundation, than *the injunctions of the Pope*, or at leaſt of the *Popiſh Church*.

I have mentioned one uſe of their *Holy water*, in a Feſtival at *Rome*, called *the Benediction of horſes*, which ſeems to perplex him. He dares not deny the fact, yet labors to render it ſuſpected, and declares; "that though he had "ſpent the greateſt part of his life abroad, he "had never ſeen or heard of any ſuch thing [*n*]." But whatever he thinks, or would ſeem rather to think of it, I know the thing to be true from the evidence of my own eyes: yet as I had no deſire, that the reader ſhould take my bare word for that, or any other fact in the Letter, I took care to add ſuch teſtimonies of it, as every one will allow to be authentic. But if he really be a ſtranger to ſo extraordinary a practice, he muſt be an improper advocate of a cauſe, of which he owns *himſelf to be* ignorant. The learned *Mabillon*, as I have obſerved, intimates his ſurprize at this, as well as many other parts of their worſhip, which he had never ſeen, till he travelled into *Italy*; but, inſtead of defending, chuſes either to drop them in ſilence, or to give them up as ſuperſtitious: which might have been the caſe alſo of our *Catholic*, if he had been better informed of the facts, which he has undertaken to vindicate. But if theſe men of learning, and teachers of Religion, know ſo little of what is done at *Rome*, how eaſy muſt it be, to impoſe upon *the poor Catholics in Eng-*

[*n*] Pref. p. 7.

land, and keep them in the dark, as to the more exceptionable parts of their worſhip, which are openly avowed and practiſed abroad, to the ſcandal of all the candid, and moderate even of their own communion.

But though our *Catholic* ſeems ſo much aſhamed at preſent of *this Benediction of Horſes, in their Church*, I can give him ſuch light into the origin of it, as will make him proud of it probably for the future; from a ſtory, that I have obſerved in St. *Jerom*; which ſhews it to be grounded on a *miracle*, and derived from *a Saint*: I mean St. *Hilarion*; the founder of *the Monaſtic orders in Syria and Palæſtine* [*o*].

The ſtory is this: "a Citizen of *Gaza*, a "Chriſtian, who kept a Stable of running "horſes for *the Circenſian games*, was always "beaten by his Antagoniſt, an Idolater; the "maſter of a rival ſtable. For the Idolater, "by the help of certain charms, and diabolical "imprecations, conſtantly, damped the ſpirits "of the Chriſtian's horſes, and added courage "to his own. The Chriſtian therefore in de- "ſpair, applied himſelf to St. *Hilarion*, and "implored his aſſiſtance: but *the Saint* was "unwilling to enter into an affair ſo frivolous

[*o*] Necdum enim tunc *Monaſteria* erant in *Palæſtina*, nec quiſquam *Monachum* ante *Sanctum Hilarionem* in *Syria* noverat. Ille fundator & eruditor hujus converſationis & ſtudii in hac provincia fuit. Hieron. Op. t. iv. par. ii. p. 78. Ed. Ben.

" and profane; till the Chriſtian urging it as a " neceſſary defenſe againſt theſe adverſaries of " God, whoſe inſults were levelled not ſo " much at him, as at the Church of Chriſt; " and his entreaties being ſeconded by the " Monks, who were preſent; the Saint ordered " his earthen jugg, out of which he uſed to " drink, to be filled with water and delivered " to the man: who preſently *ſprinkled his Stable,* " *his Horſes, his Charioteers, his Chariot, and* " *the very boundaries of the courſe with it.* Upon " this, the whole City was in wondrous expec- " tation: *the Idolaters* derided what the Chri- " ſtian was doing; while *the Chriſtians* took " courage, and aſſured themſelves of victory; " till the ſignal being given for the race, the " Chriſtian's horſes ſeemed to fly whilſt the " Idolater's were labouring behind, and left " quite out of ſight; ſo that *the Pagans* them- " ſelves were forced to cry out, *that their God* " *Marnas was conquered at laſt by Chriſt* [*p*]." Thus this memorable Function, borrowed originally from the *Pagan Sprinklers of the Circenſian games*, appears to be as ancient almoſt in the Church as *Monkery* itſelf, and one of the firſt inventions, for which *Popery* ſtands indebted to that religious inſtitution.

As to *the Lamps and Candles*, which are conſtantly burning before the Altars of their Saints, he tells us once more; " that though the De-

[*p*] Ibid. p. 80.

" vil

" vil had procured them to be ſet up in his " Temples, yet they were appointed originally " by God for the ſervice of his Tabernacle; " and were not therefore borrowed from the " Heatheniſh, but the Moſaic worſhip [*q*]." To which I need not repeat, what I have already ſaid on the foregoing articles. I had deduced the origin of theſe lamps from *Ægypt*, upon the authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus:* but he declares, that *Clemens ſays no ſuch thing:* yet does not think fit to tell us, what it is that he has ſaid, nor how near it approaches to the interpretation, which I have given of it. *Clemens* expreſsly aſcribes *the invention of lamps to the Ægyptians*, in which he is followed by *Euſebius*, and ſince lamps were uſed in all the *Pagan Temples* from the earlieſt times, of which we have any notice, I take it for a neceſſary conſequence, that *the Ægytians* were the firſt, who made uſe of them *likewiſe in their* Temples. But let that be as it will, this at leaſt is certain, that the uſe of them in Chriſtian Churches was condemned by many of the *primitive Biſhops and Preſbyters*, as ſuperſtitious and Heatheniſh. But all theſe our *Catholic* makes no ſcruple to brand with the title of *Heretics* [*r*]; tho' many of them, perhaps, might more truly be called, *the Proteſtants of the primitive Church*; particularly *Vigilantius*; who, by all that I have been able to obſerve about him, incurred the Charge of *Hereſy* for no other crime, than that of writing againſt " Monk-

[*q*] Pref. p. 8. [*r*] Ib. p. 13.

ery; the Celibacy of the Clergy; praying for "the dead; worſhiping the reliques of Mar-"tyrs; and lighting up candles to them, after "the manner of the Pagans [*s*]." But St. *Jerom* has given the moſt rational definition of *Hereſy*, where he ſays; "that thoſe who inter-"pret Scripture to any ſenſe, repugnant to that "of the Holy Spirit, though they ſhould never "withdraw themſelves from the Church, yet "may be juſtly called Heretics [*t*]." By which Criterion, *the Romiſh Church* will be found much more *Heretical*, than any of thoſe, who, either in ancient or modern times, have ſeparated themſelves from it's communion on the account of it's doctrines.

My next inſtance of their *Paganiſm* is, the number of their *Donaria* or *Votive offerings*, hanging around *the Altars of their Saints:* where our Author, having nothing to alledge from Scripture, nor any example from antiquity, but what is purely *Heatheniſh*, is forced to change his tone, and to declare; "that things inno-"cent in themſelves cannot be rendered unlaw-"ful, for having been abuſed by the Heathens; "and that it cannot be diſagreeable to the true "God, that thoſe, who believe themſelves to "have received favors from him by the pray-"ers of his Saints, ſhould make a publick ac-

[*s*] Hieron. Oper. t. iv. par. ii. p. 275, 282. Edit. Benedict. it. Cave's Hiſt. Liter. par. i.

[*t*] Hieron. ibid. par. 1. p. 302.

"know-

" knowledgment of it [*u*]." But can a practice be called innocent, which is a confeſſed copy of paganiſh Superſtition? which tends to weaken our dependence on God, and to place it on thoſe, who are not probably in a condition, either *to hear, or to help us* [*x*]? which imprints the ſame veneration for *the Chriſtian Saints*, that the *Pagans* paid to their *ſubordinate Deities*; and transfers the honor due to God, to the Altars of departed mortals? Such a worſhip, I ſay, ſo far from being innocent, muſt neceſſarily be condemned by all unprejudiced men, as profane and idolatrous; as it will more evidently appear to be, from our conſideration of the next article, their *worſhip of Images.*

On this head, our Catholic pours out all his rage againſt me; charges me with " ſlander " and miſrepreſentation, and notorious un- " truths; *ſays* that I am no better friend to " Chriſtianity, than to *Popery*; that I imitate " the ancient Heretics, and copy my arguments " from the Apoſtate *Julian* [*y*]:" by which he ſhews, in what manner he would ſilence me, if he had me under his diſcipline: but I can eaſily forgive his railing, while I find myſelf out of his power; and rejoice, that we live in a country, where he can uſe a liberty, which no *Popiſh* Government would indulge to a Proteſtant. The ground of all this clamor, is, my treating their *Image-worſhip, as Idolatrous:* yet he does

[*u*] Pref. p. 9. [*x*] Eccleſiaſt. ix. 5, 6. [*y*] Pref. p. 13.

not pretend to contradict my facts, but the inference onely, that I draw from them; and ſince he cannot overthrow my premiſes, is the more enraged at my concluſion.

I had defined *Idols*, upon the authority of St. *Jerom*, to *be Images of the dead:* where he is ſimple enough to imagine, that I included in my definition, *all images and pictures whatſoever of the dead*; and calls it therefore *a brat of my own, which I falſely father upon St. Jerom* [z]. Yet every man muſt ſee, that I could mean no other *images*, but ſuch, as I was there treating of; ſuch, as had *Temples, Altars, and a religious worſhip* inſtituted to them; for ſuch are all the *Images of the Popiſh Church*; and of all *ſuch Images of the dead*, I ſhall affirm again with St. *Jerom*, that they are true and proper *Idols*.

It is not my preſent deſign to enter into a formal diſcuſſion of the nature of Idolatry; which according to every ſenſe of it, as our Divines have fully demonſtrated, is now exerciſed in *Popiſh Rome*, upon the very ſame principles, on which it was formerly practiſed in *Pagan Rome*. The purpoſe of the following *Letter* is, to illuſtrate this argument by the more ſenſible evidence of fact; and, in ſpite of the cavils and evaſive diſtinctions of their Schools, to ſhew *their worſhip of Images or of Saints*, call it which they will, to be properly and actually idolatrous.

[z] Pref. p. 10.

But

But our Author defines *Idols*, " to be ſuch " Images onely, as are ſet up for Gods, and " honored as ſuch; or in which ſome divinity " or power is believed to reſide by their wor- " ſhippers; who accordingly offer prayers and " ſacrifice to them, and put their truſt in " them [*a*]." Such, ſays he, *were the Idols of the Gentiles:* and ſuch, I ſhall venture to ſay, are *the Idols of the Papiſts.* For what elſe can we ſay of thoſe *miraculous Images*, as they are called, in every great town of *Italy*, but that ſome *Divinity* or *Power* is univerſally believed to reſide in them? Are not all their people perſuaded, and do not all their books teſtify, that theſe Images have ſometimes *moved themſelves* from one place to another; have *wept, talked, and wrought many miracles?* And does not this neceſſarily imply an *extraordinary power reſiding in them?* In the high ſtreet of *Loretto*, which leads to *the Holy Houſe*, the ſhops are filled with *Beads, Crucifixes, Agnus's Dei's*, and all the trinkets of *Popiſh* manufacture; where I obſerved *printed certificates*, or teſtimonials, affixed to each ſhop, declaring all their toys to have been *touched by the bleſſed Image:* which certificates are provided for no other purpoſe, but to humor the general perſuaſion, both of the buyer and the ſeller, that *ſome virtue* is communicated by that touch, from a *power reſiding in the Image.*

[*a*] Pref. p. 11.

In

In one of the Churches of *Lucca*, they ſhew an Image of *the Virgin with the Child of Jeſus* in her arms, of which they relate this Story, "That a blaſpheming Gameſter, in rage and "deſpair, took up a ſtone and threw it at the "Infant; but the Virgin, to preſerve him from "the blow, which was levelled at his head, "ſhifted him inſtantly from her right arm into "the left, in which he is now held; while the "blaſphemer was ſwallowed up by the earth "upon the ſpot; where the hole, which they "declare to be unfathomable, is ſtill kept open "and encloſed only with a grate, juſt before "the Altar of the Image. The Virgin how-"ever received the blow upon her ſhoulder, "whence the blood preſently iſſued, which is "preſerved in a Cryſtal, and produced, with "the greateſt ceremony, by the Prieſt in his "veſtments, with tapers lighted, while all the "company kiſs the ſacred relique on their "knees [*b*]." Now does not the atteſtation of this miracle naturally tend to perſuade people, that there is an *actual power reſiding in the Image*, which can defend itſelf from injuries, and inflict vengeance on all, who dare to inſult it?

One of the moſt celebrated *Images in Italy* is that of *St. Dominic, of Surriano in Calabria*, which, as their hiſtories teſtify, was brought down from heaven about two centuries ago, by

[*b*] See Mr. *Wright*'s Travels at *Lucca*.

the

the Virgin Mary in perſon, accompanied by *Mary Magdalene* and St. *Catharine*. Before this glorious picture, as they affirm, " great numbers " of the dead have been reſtored to life, and " hundreds from the agonies of death; the " dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame have " been cured, and all ſorts of diſeaſes and mor- " tal wounds miraculouſly healed:" all which facts are atteſted by publick Notaries; and confirmed by the relations of Cardinals, Prelates, Generals, and Priors of that Order; and the certainty of them ſo generally believed, that from the 9th of *July* to the 9th of *Auguſt*, the anniverſary Feſtival of the Saint, they have always counted *above a hundred thouſaud Pilgrims*, and many of them of the higheſt quality, who come from different parts of *Europe*, to pay their devotions, and make their offerings to this picture [*c*].

Aringhus, touching upon this ſubject, in his elaborate account of *ſubterraneous Rome*, obſerves; " that *the Images of the bleſſed Virgin* " *ſhine out continually by new and dayly miracles*, " *to the comfort of their votaries, and the con-* " *fuſion of all gainſayers.* Within theſe few years, " ſays he, under every Pope ſucceſſively, ſome " or other of our ſacred Images, eſpecially of " the more ancient, have made themſelves il- " luſtrious, and acquired a peculiar worſhip

[*c*] La vie de St. Dominic, p. 599. 4to. à Paris, 1647. it. p. 602.

" and

" and veneration by the exhibition of freſh
" ſigns; as it is notorious to all, who dwell in
" this City. But how can I paſs over in ſilence
" the Image of St. *Dominic*; ſo conſpicuous at
" this day for it's never ceaſing miracles;
" which attract the reſort and admiration of
" the whole Chriſtian world. This picture,
" which, as pious tradition informs us, was
" brought down from heaven, about the year
" of our redemption, 1530, is a moſt ſolid
" bulwark of the Church of Chriſt, and a
" noble monument of the pure faith of Chri-
" ſtians, againſt all the impious oppoſers of
" Image worſhip. The venerable Image is
" drawn indeed but rudely, without the help
" of art or pencil; ſketched out by a cœleſtial
" hand; with a book in it's right, and a lily,
" in it's left hand; of a moderate ſtature, but
" of a grave and comely aſpect; with a robe
" reaching down to the heels. Thoſe who have
" written it's hiſtory, aſſert, that the Painters,
" in their attempts to copy it, have not always
" been able to take ſimilar copies; becauſe it
" frequently aſſumes a different air, and rays
" of light have been ſeen by ſome to iſſue from
" it's countenance; and it has more than once
" removed itſelf from one place to another.
" The Worſhip therefore of this picture is be-
" come ſo famous through all Chriſtendom,
" that multitudes of people, to the number of
" *a hundred thouſand and upwards*, flock annu-
" ally to pay their devotions to it, on the Feſti-

" val

" val of the Saint; and though it be ſtrange,
" which *I* have now related, yet what I am go-
" ing to ſay is ſtill ſtranger, that not onely *the*
" *original picture*, made not by human, but by
" heavenly hands, is celebrated for it's dayly
" miracles, but even *the Copy* of it, which is
" piouſly preſerved in this City, in the Mona-
" ſtery called *St. Mary's above the Minerva*, is
" famous alſo *in theſe our* days for it's per-
" petual ſigns and wonders, as the number-
" leſs votive offerings hanging around it, and
" the bracelets and jewels which adorn it te-
" ſtify [*d*]."

All their Apologiſts indeed declare, what our Catholic alſo ſays on this head, " that they do " not aſcribe theſe miracles to any power in the " Image itſelf, but to the power of God, who " is moved to work them by the prayers and " *interceſſion of* his Saints, for the benefit of " thoſe, who have *ſought that interceſſion* be- " fore their pictures or Images; and in or- " der to bear teſtimony to the faith and prac- " tice of the Church in this particular ar- " ticle [*e*]." But how can we think it poſſi-ble, that the Deity can be moved to exert his power ſo wonderfully for the confirmation of ſuch ridiculous ſtories, *of pictures and ſtatues ſent down from heaven*; which while they blaſ-phemouſly impute to the workmanſhip of *Saints or Angels*, *or of God* himſelf [*f*], are yet always

[*d*] Aring. Roma Subterran. tom. ii. p. 464. § 13.
[*e*] Cathol. Chriſt. p. 251.
[*f*] Imaginem Διότευκτον. Euagr.

ſo

ſo rudely and contemptibly performed, that a moderate artiſt on earth would be aſhamed to call them his own? Or is it at all credible, that the Saints in heaven ſhould be as buſy and ambitious, as their votaries are on earth, to advance the peculiar honors of their ſeveral altars, by their continual interceſſions at the throne of grace? Or that their whole care above, if they really have any, which reaches to things below, ſhould be employed, not for the general advancement of religion and piety among men, but of their own private glory and worſhip, in preference to all their competitors? No; the abſurdity of ſuch notions and practices makes it neceſſary to believe, that they were all occaſionally forged for the ſupport of ſome lucrative ſcheme; or to revive the expiring credit of ſome favorite ſuperſtition, which had been found highly beneficial to the contrivers of ſuch forgeries. For the very effect, *of which they* boaſt, as a proof of the miracle, betrays the fraud; and *the multitude of pilgrims and offerings*, to which they appeal, inſtead of demonſtrating the truth of the fact, does but expoſe the real ground of the impoſture.

But to return to my Antagoniſt: if we ſhould aſk him once more, whether there ever was a Temple in the world, not purely heatheniſh, in which there were *any Images*, *erected on altars*, for the purpoſe of any religious worſhip whatſoever; he muſt be obliged to anſwer in the negative.

negative. He would be forced likewiſe to confeſs, that there were many ſuch Temples in *Pagan Rome*, and particularly *the Pantheon*, which remains ſtill in *Chriſtian Rome*; on whoſe numerous altars as there formerly ſtood *the Images* of as many *Pagan Divi or Idols*, ſo there are now ſtanding *the Images* of as many *Popiſh Divi or Saints*; to whom the *preſent Romans* pay their vows and offer prayers, as their inclinations ſeverally lead them to this or that particular Altar: And no man will pretend to ſay, that there is not *the greateſt conformity* between the preſent and the ancient Temple; or that it would not be difficult to furniſh out a private room more exactly to the taſte of *the old Romans*, than this *Popiſh Church* ſtands now adorned with all the furniture of their *old Paganiſm*.

We are informed by *Plato*, that there were *Images* in the Temples of *Ægypt* from the earlieſt antiquity [*g*]: And it appears evidently from Scripture, that they ſubſiſted there, as well as in *Palæſtine*, before the time of *Moſes*. The ſtrict prohibition of them therefore to *the Jews*, while ſeveral other rites of the *Heathens* were indulged to them, in condeſcenſion to their peculiar circumſtances and carnal affections, carries a ſtrong intimation, that *Images* are of all things the moſt dangerous to true religion; as tending naturally to corrupt it, by introducing Superſtition and Idolatry into the worſhip

[*g*] Plat. de Legib. l. ii. p. 656. Max. Tyr. Diſſ. 38.

of

of God. The *Chriſtian Emperors*, as I have intimated in my Letter, ſtrictly prohibited their *Pagan* Subjects, *to light up candles, offer incenſe*, or *hang up garlands to ſenſeleſs Images:* For theſe were then reckoned the notorious acts of genuin *Paganiſm?* Yet we now ſee all theſe very acts performed every day in *Popiſh* countries *to the Images of the Popiſh Saints.* In a word, ſince there never was *an Image* in the Temple of the true God, in any age of the world, yet a perpetual uſe of them in all the Temples of *the Heathens*, it is in vain to diſpute about their origin; the thing is evident to a demonſtration; they muſt neceſſarily be derived to *the preſent Romans*, from thoſe, who always uſed, and not from thoſe, who always deteſted them; that is, from their *Pagan*, not their *Chriſtian Anceſtors.* They may quibble therefore as long as they pleaſe; and talk of *their Decrees and Canons*, contrived to amuſe the public, and elude the arguments of Proteſtants, by ſubtle and ſpecious diſtinctions; while every Traveller, who ſees what paſſes at the Shrine of any *celebrated Saint, or miraculous Image in* Italy, will be convinced by Ocular demonſtration, that their people are trained, inſtructed, and encouraged to believe, that there *is a divinity or power reſiding in thoſe Images*, and that they actually *offer up prayers and put their truſt* in them.

For if there is no ſuch belief amongſt them, as this *Catholic* affirms, for what purpoſe do they

they expoſe *thoſe Images*, ſo ſolemnly, and carry them about *proceſſionally*, on all occaſions of public diſtreſs? Is there any charm in a block of wood or ſtone, to produce rain, or avert a peſtilence? Or, can *ſenſeleſs Images* have any influence towards moving the Will of God? No; their Prieſts are not ſo ſilly as to imagine it: the ſole end of producing them is, not to move God, but the populace; to perſuade the deluded multitude, that there *is a power in the Image*, that can draw down bleſſings upon them from Heaven: A doctrine, that repays all their pains of inculcating it, by a perpetual ſupply of wealth to the treaſury of the Church. This therefore, as it appears from undeniable facts, is the univerſal belief of *all Popiſh* Countries; grounded, as they all aſſert, on the evidence of perpetual miracles, wrought by the particular agency of theſe *ſacred Images*, of which I could produce *innumerable* inſtances from their own books.

In a Collegiate Church of regular Canons, called *St. Mary, of Impruneta*, about ſix miles from *Florence*, there is *a miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary*, painted by *St. Luke*, and held in the greateſt veneration through all *Tuſcany*: Which, as oft as that State happens to be viſited by any calamity, or involved in any peculiar danger, is ſure to be brought out, and carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets of *Florence*; attended by the Prince himſelf, with all the

Nobility, Magiſtrates, and Clergy; where it has never failed to afford them preſent relief in their greateſt difficulties. In teſtimony of which they produce authentic acts and records, confirmed by public Inſcriptions, ſetting forth all the particular benefits miraculouſly obtained from each proceſſion; and the ſeveral offerings made on that account to the *Sacred Image*, for many centuries paſt, down to theſe very times; from the notoriety of which facts it became a proverb over *Italy*, that *the Florentines had got a Madonna, which did for them, whatever they pleaſed* [*b*].

Among the numerous Inſcriptions of this ſort, there is one in the Church of *Impruneta*, to this effect; "That the ſacred Image being carried "with ſolemn pomp into *Florence*, when it was "viſited by a peſtilence for three years ſucceſ- "ſively, and received with pious zeal by the "great Duke, *Ferdinand* II, and the whole "body of the people, who came out to meet "it, and having marched about the City for "three days in proceſſion, the fierceneſs of the "peſtilence began miraculouſly to abate, and "ſoon after intirely ceaſed. Upon which the "Magiſtrates of health, by a general vow of "the Citizens, made an offering of ten thou-

[*b*] Vid. Memorie Iſtoriche della Miracoloſa Immagine, *&c.* in Firen. 1714. 4to. paſsò in proverbio per tutta l'Italia; che i Fiorentini hanno una Madonna, che fa à lor modo. ib. p. 85.

"ſand ducats of gold, to be employed in pro-
" viding portions for twenty young women
" of *Impruneta* to be diſpoſed of annually in
" marriage, and placed that Inſcription as a
" Monument of ſo ſignal a benefit, A. D.
" 1633. [*i*]."

During the time of theſe proceſſions, they always inſcribe certain hymns, or prayers, or elogiums of the Virgin, over the doors and other conſpicuous places of each Church, where the Image repoſes itſelf for any time; in order to raiſe the devotion of the people towards the ſacred object before them. In a proceſſion made A. D. 1711, the following Inſcription was placed over the principal gate of one of their great Churches.—" The Gate of cœleſtial
" benefit. The Gate of Salvation. Look up
" to the Virgin Herſelf. Paſs into me, all ye
" who deſire me. Whoſoever ſhall find me,
" will find life and draw *Salvation from* the
" Lord. For there is no one, who can be
" ſaved, O moſt Holy Virgin, but through
" Thee. There is no one, who can be deli-
" vered from evils, but through Thee. There
" is no one, from whom we can obtain mercy,
" but through Thee."—In the concluſion are theſe expreſſions. — " *Mary* indeed opens the
" boſom of her mercy to all; ſo that the whole
" Univerſe receives out of her fullneſs. The
" Captive, redemption; the Sick, a cure; the

[*i*] Ibid. p. 202.

" Sad, comfort; the Sinner, pardon; the Juſt, " grace; the Angel, joy; the whole Trinity, " glory [*k*]." Now what can we ſay of a devotion ſo extravagant, and blaſphemous, but that it is a revival of *the old Hereſy of the Collyridians*; maintained by *a ſect of ſilly women*; who fell into their *fooliſh error or madneſs*, as *Epiphanius* calls it, *through an exceſs of zeal towards the bleſſed Virgin*, whom they reſolved to advance into *a Goddeſs*, and to introduce the worſhip of her as ſuch into the Chriſtian Church [*l*].

I cannot diſmiſs the ſtory of *this wonderful picture*, without giving the reader ſome account of it's origin, as it is delivered by their writers, not grounded, as they ſay, on vulgar fame, but on public records, and hiſtories, confirmed by a perpetual ſeries of miracles.—" When " the Inhabitants of *Imprunetá* had reſolved to

[*k*] Janua cœleſtis beneficii. Janua Salutis. Ipſam Virginem attendite. Tranſite ad me omnes qui concupiſcitis me.—Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam et hauriet ſalutem a Domino. Nemo enim eſt qui ſalvus fiat, O Sanctiſſima, niſi per Te. Nemo eſt qui liberetur a malis niſi per te. Nemo eſt cujus miſereatur gratia niſi per Te.—

Maria profecto omnibus miſericordiæ ſinum aperit, ut de plenitudine ejus accipiant Univerſi. Captivus redemptionem, Æger curationem, Triſtis conſolationem, Peccator veniam, Juſtus gratiam, Angelus lætitiam, tota Trinitas gloriam. Ibid. 234.

[*l*] Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τὸ τοῦτο διδάσκοντες τίνες εἰσὶ, ἀλλ' ἢ γυναῖκες;—Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ὁ Διάβολος ἐξευρεῖν. Epiph. adv. Hær. Vol. I. p. 1058. Edit. Par. 1622. ἀλλὰ θεὸν ταύτην παρεισάγειν ἰσπουδακότας, ἢ σπουδάζοντας, &c. ibid. p. 1054.

" build a Church to the Virgin, and were " digging the foundations of it with great zeal, " on a ſpot marked out to them by heaven; " one of the laborers happened to ſtrike his " pickax againſt ſomething under ground, " from which there iſſued preſently a com- " plaining voice or groan. The workmen, " being greatly amazed, put a ſtop to their " work for a while, but having recovered their " ſpirits after ſome pauſe, they ventured to " open the place, from which the voice came, " and found the miraculous Image [*m*]." This calls to my mind a *Pagan* Story, of the ſame ſtamp, and in the ſame country, preſerved to us by *Cicero*, concerning the origin of Divination. " That a man being at plough in a " certain field of *Etruria*, and happening to " ſtrike his plough ſomewhat deeper than ordi- " nary, there ſtarted up before him out of the " furrow, a *Diety*, whom they called *Tages*. " The ploughman, terrified by ſo ſtrange an " apparition, made ſuch an outcry, that he " alarmed all his neighbours, and in a ſhort " time drew the whole country around him; " to whom the God, in the hearing of them " all, explained the whole art and myſtery of " divination: which all their writers and re- " cords affirmed, to be the genuin origin of " that diſcipline, for which the old *Tuſcans* " were afterwards ſo famous." Now theſe two ſtories forged at different times in the ſame

[*m*] Ibid. p. 53, &c.

country, and for the ſame end of ſupporting an Idolatrous worſhip, bear ſuch a reſemblance to each other, that every one will ſee the one to have been a bungling imitation of the other; and we may ſay of *the Popiſh Madonna*, what *Cicero* ſays of *the Pagan Tages*, *that none can be ſo ſilly as to believe that a God was ever dug out of the ground; and that an attempt to confute ſuch ſtories would be as ſilly as to believe them* [*n*]. My deſign therefore in collecting them was not, ſo much to expoſe the folly of them to my Proteſtant readers, as to admoniſh our Papiſts, by unqueſtionable facts and inſtances, drawn from the preſent practice of *Rome*, into what a labyrinth of folly and impiety their principles will naturally lead them, when they are puſhed to their full length, and exerted without reſerve or reſtraint; and to lay before them the forgeries and impoſtures which are practiſed in their Church, to ſupport the abſurd doctrines, which ſhe impoſes, as the neceſſary terms of Catholic communion.

But their conſtant method of recurring to different Saints in their different exigencies, is nothing elſe, as many writers have obſerved, but an exact copy of the *Pagan* ſuperſtition, grounded, on a popular belief, that their Saints, like the old Dæmons, have each their *diſtinct provinces, or præfectures*, aſſigned to them; ſome over particular countries, cities, ſocieties,

[*n*] Cic. de Divin ii. 23.

and

and even the different trades of men; others over the ſeveral diſeaſes of the body, or the mind; others over the winds, the rain, and various fruits of the earth [*o*]. So that God's rebuke to the Apoſtatizing *Jews*, is full as applicable to *the Papiſts*, for committing *whoredoms with their Idols*, and ſaying, *I will go after my lovers, who give me my bread and my water; my wooll and my flax; mine oil and my drink—for they did not know, that I gave them their corn and wine and oil, and multiplied their ſilver and gold, which they prepared for Baal* [*p*].

Our *Catholic* proceeds to affirm, *that all the devotion paid to their Saints extends no farther, than to deſire their prayers, and that the pictures and Images of them, which we ſee in their Churches, are no more than mere memorials, deſigned to expreſs the eſteem, which they retain for the perſons ſo repreſented; or as helps to raiſe their affections to heavenly things; and that every child amongſt them knows this to be true* [*q*]. Yet I have demonſtrated, from their public Inſcriptions, as well as the explicit teſtimonies of their writers, that thoſe Images are placed by them in their Churches, as the proper objects of *religious adoration*; and that they aſcribe to their *Divi*, or *Saints*, who are repreſented by them, the very ſame titles, powers and attributes, which *the Heathens* aſcribed *to their Deities*; invoking them *as*

[*o*] Orig. con. Celſ. 8. p. 339. See Conformity of anc. and mod. ceremon. p. 112, &c.

[*p*] Hoſea ii. 5, 7.

[*q*] Pref. p. 9, 10, 12.

Tutelary Divinities; *as preſiding over their Temples, and the affairs of men, as moſt powerfull, invincible, and always ready to help and relieve their votaries* [*r*]. All which is confirmed by the conſtant ſtile of their prayers, and the expreſs language of their *Liturgies*, *Miſſals* and *Breviaries*, ſet forth at *Rome* by public authority: in which the *Virgin* is called, *the mother of mercy*, *Hope of the world*, *the onely truſt of Sinners*; *and the Saints* addreſſed to under the titles of *Interceſſors*, *Protectors and Diſpenſers of Grace*. *Maldonatus* calls it *an impious and ſilly error of the Proteſtants*, *to think that no religious worſhip is due to any*, *but to God*. And ſome of *their expurgatary Indexes* go ſo far, as to expunge all thoſe paſſages of *the Primitive Fathers*, which teach, *that creatures ought not to be adored* [*s*].

The Abbot de Marolles relates a converſation, in which he was once engaged, with *a Capuchin*, who had been employed in ſeveral miſſions, and a celebrated Preacher of *France*; in the preſence of an *Hugonot* Gentleman; for whoſe ſake *the Abbot* took occaſion to ſpeak of *Images* in the ſame moderate ſtrain, in which our *Catholic* thinks fit to treat them in his preſent addreſs to Proteſtants; "That they were placed in their "Churches, not for the people to adore, or put

[*r*] See Letter, p. 42, 43.

[*s*] Salve Regina; Mater miſericordiæ, vita, dulcedo, & ſpes noſtra, ſalve. Ad Te clamamus exules filii Evæ, &c. Offic. Beat. Virg. Maldonat. in Mat. v. 35. Index Expurgat. Madrid 1612.

"their

" their truſt in them, but to edify their ſenſes,
" by the repreſentation of holy things. But
" the *Abbot*'s diſcourſe gave offence both to
" *the Friar and the Preacher*; they inſiſted on a
" higher degree of veneration, urged the ſtories
" of their *miraculous Images*, and the extraordi-
" nary devotion that was paid by the Pope, the
" Biſhops, and the whole Church to ſome of
" them, which had been known to ſpeak, or
" were brought down from heaven, or made
" by the hands of Apoſtles and Angels; or
" had been conſecrated on the account of ſome
" *particular Virtues*, and were carried for that
" reaſon in proceſſions, and worſhipped on Al-
" tars, as well as the ſacred reliques; whoſe
" miracles could not be conteſted by any, but
" *obſtinate Hereticks*, who would ſooner re-
" nounce the teſtimony of their ſenſes, than be
" convinced of their errors. In ſhort; the Ca-
" puchin *declared, that the authority of the*
" Church was the ſole rule of faith; and that
" to reſiſt it, was a manifeſt rebellion, and wor-
" thy of the laſt puniſhment [*t*]." And this
opinion

[*t*] Mais tout ce diſcours ne plut pas encore au Religieux, ni meſmes à M. Herſaut, qui vouloit quelque choſe de plus; pour preuve de quoy, l'un & l'autre mirent en avant les Images miraculeuſes, & marquerent meſmes les reſpects extraordinaires, que le S. Pere, les Eveſques, & toute l'Egliſe rendent à quelques unes, qui ont parlé, ou qui ſont deſcendues du Ciel, ou qui ont eté façonnées de la propre main des Apoſtres, & des Anges, ou qui ſont conſacrées pour *quelque vertu particuliere*, leſquelles à cauſe de cela ſe
portent

opinion after all, maintained by the *Friar*, is the genuin notion of *Image-worſhip*, which prevails at this day in the *Romiſh Church*, and eſpecially in *Italy*, as I have fully demonſtrated by the facts above recited.

I have ſaid in my *Letter*, *that ſeveral of the ancient Heroes were more worthy of veneration, than ſome of the modern Saints, who have diſpoſſeſſed them of their Shrines; and that I ſhould ſooner pay divine honors to the Founders of Empires than to the Founders of Monaſteries.* This our Author aggravates into a heavy charge againſt me; as if I were offended, to ſee *the Heathen Temples converted into Chriſtian Churches*, and had actually preferred the *Pagan Deities*, *before the Martyrs of Chriſt* [*u*]. Where, according to his cuſtom, he either widely miſtakes, or wilfully miſrepreſents my meaning; for as *to the genuin Saints and Martyrs of the Chriſtian Church*, that is, all thoſe, who in paſt ages, have lived agreeably to the rules of the Goſpel, or died in the defence of it, I reverence them

portent en proceſſion & ſont reverées ſur les Autels, auſſi bien que les ſaintes Reliques, dont les miracles ne peuvent eſtre conteſtez, que par les Heretiques opiniaſtres, qui combattent meſmes le teſmoignage des ſens, quand il s'agit de la conviction de leur erreur.—Le Capucin eſtima, qu'il falloit defendre tout ce qui l'Egliſe reçoit;—que cela ſeul eſtoit la regle de la foy: & que ce ſeroit une rebellion manifeſte d'y reſiſter ce qui ne ſeroit digne de rien moins, que du dernier chaſtiment. — Memoires de M. de Marolles, par. i. p. 164.

[*u*] Pref. p. 12, 13.

as

as highly, as they ought to be reverenced by any Chriſtian, yet ſhall never be induced to worſhip them: I conſider them as illuſtrious proofs of the excellence of the Chriſtian doctrine; and ſhining examples of piety and fortitude to all ſucceeding ages. But as for *the Popiſh Saints*, I believe ſeveral of them to be wholly fictitious; many more to have ſpent their lives contemptibly; and ſome of them even wickedly: And out of theſe three Claſſes, let our Author chuſe where he will; out of *the fictitious, the contemptible, or the wicked*; I ſhall venter to affirm once more, that I would ſooner worſhip *Romulus*, or *Antonine*, than any of them: ſooner pay my devotion to the *Founders, than to the diſturbers of kingdoms*; ſooner to *the benefactors*, than to *the perſecutors of mankind*; and this is the whole, that I have ever meant.

But our Author calls it a notorious falſehood to ſay, "that many of their Saints were never "heard of but in their Legends; or had no "other merit but of throwing kingdoms into "convulſions, for the ſake of ſome gainfull "impoſture [x]: Yet I have produced ſeveral inſtances of the firſt ſort, which every reaſonable man muſt think deciſive; in the caſe of *Evodia, St. Viar, Amphibolus, Veronica*: but *no ſuch Saints*, he ſays, *were ever honored in their Church*: by which he means nothing more, as he himſelf explanes it, than, that they never were *formally canonized, and entered into the Roman*

[x] Pref. p. 14.

Mar-

Martyrology [*y*]; which is nothing to the purpoſe; ſince, as I have ſhewn from unqueſtionable authority, they were all honored with *Altars and Images, and openly worſhipped in Catholic Countries, as Saints and Martyrs*; and that *Veronica* in particular, though the name onely of *a picture*, was advanced into *a perſon*, by the Authority of *Pope Urban*; and placed as ſuch upon an Altar, in the face of all Chriſtendom, in *St. Peter's at Rome* [*z*]. Yet all men, who know any thing of Hiſtory, either ſacred or profane, muſt neceſſarily be convinced, that the whole ſtory, not onely of *the Saint*, but of *the picture alſo*, which they expoſe on certain Feſtivals with the greateſt pomp, and for the original of which different Cities contend, is a mere cheat and forgery.

It is a thing confeſſed, and lamented by the graveſt of their own Communion, that the names and worſhip of *many pretended Saints*, who never had a real exiſtence, had been fraudulently impoſed upon the Church. The celebrated Dr. *John de Launoy* was famous for clearing the Calendar of ſeveral, who had long been worſhipped in *France, as the Tutelary Divi* of ſome of their principal Towns: ſo that it uſed to be ſaid of him, "that there never paſſed "a year, in which he did not pluck a Saint out "of Paradiſe [*a*]." In the *Catacombs of Rome*,

[*y*] Pref. p. 14, 15. [*z*] See Letter, p. 38, 39.
[*a*] Bayle Dict. in LAUNOY.

which

which, in the times of Heatheniſm, was the burial place of the Slaves, and poorer Citizens, and where the bones of *Pagans and Chriſtians* lie jumbled promiſcuouſly together, if they happen to find *a little vial, or piece of glaſs tinged with red*, at the mouth of any particular hole, they take it preſently, and the learned *Montfaucon* informs us, for a certain proof of *Martyrdom*; and, by the help of the next inſcription, that they can pick up from ſome neighbouring Grave-ſtone, preſently create a *new Saint and Martyr to the Popiſh Church*. *Mabillon*, as I have obſerved, wiſhes, "that they would "be more ſcrupulous on this head; and not "forge ſo many fabulous ſtories of Saints, "without any certain name; nor impoſe Pa-"ganiſh inſcriptions for Chriſtian upon the "Church [*b*]."

Our *Catholic himſelf*, in this very work, where he is labouring to give the *moſt ſpecious* turn to every part of their worſhip, is forced to allow ſuch a confuſion and jumble among the *Martyrs and their reliques*, as approaches very nearly to what I am now affirming: he ſays, "that "many of their Saints having born the ſame "name, it eaſily happens, that the reliques, "which belong to one, are attributed to ano-"ther, and that there are many ancient Mar-"tyrs, whoſe names at preſent are unknown, "yet whoſe reliques have all along been honor-

[*b*] Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 225.

"ed

" ed in the Church; and that it was eaſy for " the ignorance of ſome, or the vanity of o- " thers, to attribute to them the names of other " Saints [*c*]." *The old Athenians* were called *ſuperſtitious* by the Apoſtle, for erecting *an Altar to the unknown God*; but our *Papiſts*, we ſee, by their own confeſſion, *erect Altars to unknown Saints, and unknown reliques.*

Upon the mention of theſe *reliques*, I cannot help obſerving, that *the ſuperſtitious veneration and ſolemn tranſlations* of them, which make ſo great a part of *the Popiſh* worſhip, afford another inſtance of a practice clearly derived to them from Paganiſm; the whole proceſs and ceremonial of which, as it is exerciſed at this day, may be ſeen in *Plutarch*'s account of *the tranſlation of the bones of Theſeus*, from the Iſle of *Scyrus* to *Athens:* and as this reſolution was firſt ſuggeſted to the *Athenians* by an Apparition of *Theſeus* himſelf, and injoined to them afterwards by *the Delphick Oracle*; ſo *the diſcovery and tranſlation of their reliques in the Romiſh Church*, are uſually grounded on ſome pretended *viſion or revelation* from heaven.

" When *Cimon* then had conquered the " Iſland of *Scyrus*, where *Theſeus* died, being " very ſollicitous, as *Plutarch* relates, to find " out the place, where he lay buried, and un- " able to procure any information about it, he

[*c*] Cathol. Chriſtian, p. 246.

" happened

" happened to eſpy an eagle upon a riſing
" ground, pecking the earth with it's beak, and
" tearing it up with its talons; and conceiving
" this to be a divine omen and ſign to him, he
" began immediately to dig, and found the
" coffin of a man of more than ordinary ſize,
" with a brazen lance and ſword lying by him;
" all which he took away with him into his
" Galley, and tranſported to *Athens*; where
" the whole body of the people, upon notice of
" his arrival, came out to receive the *ſacred re-*
" *liques in a ſolemn and pompous proceſſion*, per-
" forming public ſacrifices and expreſſing all
" the ſame marks of joy, as if *Theſeus* himſelf
" had been returning to them alive. They
" interred his bones in the midſt of the City,
" where his Sepulchre is ſtill a Sanctuary for
" Slaves and the meaner Citizens; *Theſeus*
" having always been eſteemed a particular Pa-
" tron of the poor and diſtreſſed. The chief
" *Feſtival*, which they celebrate annually to his
" honor, is *the 8th of October*; on which he re-
" turned victorious from *Crete* with the young
" Captives of *Athens*, yet they obſerve likewiſe
" *the 8th* of every month, as a kind of inferior
" Holyday or memorial of him [*d*]."

But to purſue the objections of our *Catholic*; he declares my account of *St. Oreſte*, whoſe name I ſuppoſe to have been derived from the mountain *Soracte*, *on which his Monaſtery now*

[*d*] Plutar. in Theſ. ad fin.

ſtands;

ſtands; to be ridiculous beyond meaſure; yet Mr. *Addiſon*, who was no ridiculous Author, has related it as a certain fact; which he borrowed probably from ſome of their own writers, or at leaſt from ſome of the Antiquaries of *Rome*, among whom I heard the ſame ſtory, But if the notion of *fictitious Saints*, be ſo notoriouſly falſe, as he aſſerts it to be, let him tell us, if he can, in what Hiſtory we may find the acts of thoſe very Saints, whom I have named, and whom their Church adopts as genuin, *St. Oreſte*, *Bacchо*, *Quirinus*, *Romula*, and *Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius* [*e*].

The creation *of Saints* is become as common almoſt, as the creation of Cardinals; there having ſeldom been a Pope, who did not add ſome to the Calendar. *Benedict XIIIth canonized eight*, in one Summer; and his Succeſſor *Clement XIIth*, the laſt Pope, *four more*. During my ſtay at *Rome*, I ſaw the *Beatification* of one *Andrew Conti*, of the family of the Pope, then reigning, *Innocent XIIIth*; for this is another ſource of ſupplying *freſh Saints to the Church*; when to humor the ambition of the Pope, or the other Princes of that Communion, this honor is conferred on ſome of their name and family: and as there muſt be a teſtimony of miracles, wrought by every perſon *ſo canonized or beatified*, either when living or dead, ſo I was curious to inquire, what miracles were aſcribed to

[*e*] See Letter, p. 37, 38.

this

this *beatified Andrew*; which I found to be nothing elſe, but a few contemptible ſtories, delivered down by tradition, which ſhewed onely the weakneſs of the man, and the abſurdity of believing, that God ſhould exert his omnipotence for the production of ſuch trifles [*f*].

As to the proof of miracles, which is eſſential to theſe *Canonizations*, every one will conceive, how eaſy it muſt be in a function, contrived to ſerve the intereſt of the Church, and the ambition of it's rulers, to procure ſuch a

[*f*] The *Papiſts*, in their verſions of the Scriptures into the modern tongues, have contrived, by various falſifications, to make them ſpeak the language of their *Miſſals and Breviaries*, in order to ſanctify their novel rites by the authority of the Apoſtles; and make the people believe, that they had been practiſed from the times even of the Goſpel. Thus to countenance this practice of *beatifying or making Saints* in the church, they have rendered a paſſage of *St. James*, c. v. 11. not as it ought to be, *Behold how we account thoſe bleſſed*; but, *Behold how we* BEATIFY *thoſe, who have ſuffered with conſtancy:* and in favour alſo of their *proceſſions*; where it is ſaid, Heb. xi. 30; *that the walls of Jericho fell down, after they compaſſed it about ſeven days:* their verſions render it; *after* A PROCESSION *of ſeven days around it.* And to give the better color to their trade of *Pilgrimages*, *St. Paul*, according to their verſions, requires it, as the qualification of *a good widow, that ſhe have lodged* PILGRIMS, 1 Tim. v. 10. and St. *John* praiſes *Gaius*, for having *dealt faithfully with* PILGRIMS—3 John ver. 5. See a treatiſe entituled, *Popery an enemy to Scripture*, where the learned and ingenious Author, Mr. *Serces*, has given a large collection of *theſe falſifications*, made to ſupport their ſeveral frauds and innovations.

teſtimonial of them, as will be ſufficient for the purpoſe. In *the Deifications of ancient Rome*, the atteſtation alſo of a miracle was held neceſſary to the act. In the caſe of *Romulus*, one *Julius Proculus*, a man ſaid to be of a worthy and upright character, took a ſolemn oath, " that *Romulus* himſelf appeared to him, and or- " dered him to inform the Senate, of his being " called up to the aſſembly of the Gods, under " the name of Quirinus [*g*];" and in *the Deifications of the Cæſars*, a teſtimony upon Oath, of an *Eagle's flying out of the funeral pile, towards heaven*, which was ſuppoſed to convey the ſoul of the deceaſed, was *the eſtabliſhed proof of their Divinity* [*h*]. Now as theſe *pagan Deifications* are the onely patterns in hiſtory, for *the Popiſh Canonizations*; ſo the invention of miracles is the ſingle art, in which *modern Rome* is allowed to excell *the ancient*.

In the *Jeſuit's College at St. Omer's*, the Father, who ſhewed us the Houſe, happening to produce ſome *relique*, or memorial of *St. Thomas*, which he treated with much reverence, one of our company aſked me, what *Thomas* he meant? upon which I unwarily ſaid, " it is *Thomas* " *Becket*, who is worſhipped as a great Saint, " on this ſide of the water:" *yes, Sir*, replied the *Jeſuit*, with a ſevere look, *if there is any faith in hiſtory, he deſerves to be eſteemed a Great*

[*g*] Vid. Plutar. in vit. Romuli. Dionyſ. Halicar. l. ii. p. 124. [*h*] Dio. Caſſ. p. 598, 842.

Saint.

Saint. But I may venture to affirm in *England*, what I did not care to diſpute in a *College of Jeſuits*, that this celebrated *Thomas* had more of *the rebel*, than of *the Saint* in him; was a Prelate of a moſt daring, turbulent, ſeditious ſpirit; inflexibly obſtinate, inſatiably ambitious, intolerably inſolent; whoſe violence *the Pope* himſelf endeavoured in vain to moderate; as it appears from ſuch monuments, as *the Papiſts* themſelves muſt allow to be authentic, a collection *of Becket's own Letters*, preſerved ſtill in *the Vatican*, and printed ſome years ago in *Bruſſels* [*i*].

From theſe Letters, I ſay, it appears, that not onely the King, and the whole body of his Barons, but even *the Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *and Clergy*, openly condemned his behaviour as highly raſh

[*i*] Prudentiam tuam monemus, conſulimus & omnimodis exhortamur, ut —— *prænominato* Regi in omnibus, & per omnia, ſalva honeſtate Eccleſiaſtici ordinis, deferre ſatagas, & ejus tibi gratiam, & amorem inceſſanter recuperare intendas, *&c.*

Alexander Papa Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archi-epiſcopo, ſcripta Ann. 1164.

Diſcretionem tuam rogamus, monemus, conſulimus, & ſuademus, ut in omnibus tuis & Eccleſiæ agendis te cautum, providum, & circumſpectum exhibeas, & nihil propere vel præcipitanter, ſed mature & graviter facias, ad gratiam & benevolentiam illuſtris Regis Anglorum recuperandam, quantum, ſalva libertate Eccleſiæ & honeſtate officii, poterit, enitaris modis omnibus & labores.

Vid. Epiſt. & Vit. Div. Thomæ. 2 Vol. 4to. Bruxellis, 1682. l. i. Ep. 4, 43.—it. vid. l. ii. 1, 94, *&c.*

and criminal; they charged him with being the ſole "diſturber of the peace of the kingdom [*k*]; "that while he was making all that ſtir about "the liberties of the Church, he himſelf was "the chief infringer of them; that he was not "aſhamed to publiſh the moſt notorious lies in "favor of his own cauſe; that he refuſed to "reſtore to the King forty thouſand marks, "which had been committed to him in "truſt [*l*]; that he was guilty of the moſt "deteſtable ingratitude to the King, whom he "treated worſe than a Heathen or Publican, "though he had been raiſed by him from the

[*k*] Ad eundem diem ex præcepto Regio, Archi-epiſcopi, Epiſcopi, & cæteri Eccleſiarum Prælati convocantur.—Conſtituta die Catholici Principis conſpectui ſe præſentat Regni Turbator & Eccleſiæ. Qui de ſuorum meritorum qualitate non ſecurus Dominicæ Crucis armat ſe vexillo, tanquam ad Tyranni præſentiam acceſſurus. Vid. ibid. l. i. Ep. 29.

Alexandro Papæ & omnibus Cardinalibus Inimici Thomæ.

[*l*] Totis enim ſtudiis Dominus Cantuarienſis deſudat, ut Dominum noſtrum Regem anathemate, Regnumque ejus interdicti pœna conſtringat. Poteſtatem, quam in ædificationem non in deſtructionem Eccleſiæ ſuſcepiſſe oportuerat, ſic exercet in ſubditos, ut omnes in Regis odium, & totius Regni Nobilium tentet inducere, & eorum ſubſtantiis direptionem, cervicibus gladium, aut corporibus exilium intente ſtudeat procurare. — Libertatem prædicat Eccleſiæ, quam ſe Cantuarienſi Eccleſiæ viribus intrudendo ſibi conſtat ademiſſe.—Notoria, quæ nec notâ, nec veritate ſubnixa ſunt, aſſerat: & in hunc modum plurima, qua poteſt poteſtate, confundat. Ad hæc, quadraginta marcarum millia, vel amplius, ut ſui aſſerunt, bonæ ſuæ fidei commiſſa, Domino noſtro Regi ſolvere, vel, quod juſtum eſt, exhibere detrectat. Et Regi ſuo negat & Domino, quod nec Ethnico denegare debuerat aut Publicano, &c. ibid. l. ii. Ep. 33.

Alexandro Papæ Epiſcopi & Clerus Angliæ:

"loweſt

" loweſt condition, to the higheſt favor, and " entruſted by him with the command of all " his dominions, and made his Chancellor, " and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, contrary to " the advice of his Mother, the Empreſs, and " the remonſtrances of the Nobility; and to " the great grief and mortification of the whole " Clergy [*m*]:" all which *the Biſhops and Clergy of the Realm* expreſly affirm in their common Letters, not onely to *the Pope*, but to *Becket himſelf*; accuſing him likewiſe of " traiterous " practices, and of uſing all endeavours to excite " the King of *France*, and the Court of *Flan-* " *ders*, to enter into a war againſt his King and " Country [*n*]." When he was cited by the King, to anſwer for his male adminiſtration, before the Biſhops and Barons of the Realm, he abſolutely refuſed to appear; declaring himſelf

[*m*] *Inſedit* alte cunctorum mentibus, quam benignus vobis Dominus *Rex noſter extiterit*, in quam vos gloriam ab exili provexerit, & *in familiarem gratiam* tam lata vos mente ſuſceperit, ut—& diſſuadente Matre ſua, Regno reclamante, Eccleſiâ Dei, quoad licuit, ſuſpirante & ingemiſcente, vos in eam, qua præeſtis, dignitatem, modis omnibus ſtuduit ſublimare, &c. ibid. l. i. Ep. 126.

Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archi-epiſcopo Clerus Angliæ.

[*n*] Aſſerebat Rex & ſuorum pars melior, quod idem Archi-epiſcopus ſereniſſimum Regem Francorum in eum graviter incitaverat, & Comitem Flandrenſem conſanguineum ſuum, qui nullum prius gerebat rancorem, ad ipſum ſubito diffidendum, & guerram pro poſſe faciendam induxerat, ſicut ſibi pro certo conſtabat & evidentibus patebat indiciis. ib. l. ii. 28. Alexandro Papæ Willielmus & Otto Cardinales.

" reſponſible to none but God; and that as
" much as the ſoul was ſuperior to the body,
" ſo much were all people obliged to obey him
" rather than the King, in all things relating
" to God and his Church; who had eſtabliſhed
" Biſhops to be the Judges and Fathers of
" Kings themſelves: and as neither law nor
" reaſon allowed children to judge their parents,
" ſo he renounced the judgment of the King
" and the Barons, and all other perſons what-
" ſoever; and acknowledged no Judge, but
" God and his ſovereign Vicar on earth, the
" Pope [*o*]." Yet this man is now adored, as one of the principal Saints and Martyrs of the *Romiſh* Church; whoſe character I have choſen to inſiſt upon the more particularly, as it will teach us by an illuſtrious example, from our own hiſtory, what kind of merit it is, that has exalted ſo many others in the ſame Church, to the ſame honors.

Let our *Catholic* tells us alſo, if he pleaſes, what opinion his Church entertains of *Garnet the Jeſuit*, who was privy to the *Gunpowder plot*, and hanged for his treaſon: if he dares to ſpeak his mind, he will declare him to be *a Saint and Martyr of Chriſt*; for ſuch he is held to be at *Rome and St. Omer's:* yet all Proteſtants will rank him, I dare ſay, among thoſe Saints, whom I juſtly call *the diſturbers of Kingdoms*;

[*o*] La vie de Saint Thom. Archeveſque de Canterb. p. 129.

and

and who merited the honor of their *Saintſhip*, not by ſpreading the light of the Goſpel, but ſcattering Firebrands and deſtruction through the world.

Our Author cannot comprehend, why I ſhould bring in the *adoration of the Hoſt* among the other articles of my charge; ſince, by my own confeſſion, I find no reſemblance of it in any part of the *pagan* worſhip [*p*]: but I have given a good reaſon for my not finding it there, which might have taught him alſo, why I brought it in; becauſe it was too abſurd for the Practice even of *the Heathens*, who thought, that none could ever be ſo mad, as to make it a point of religion, *to eat their God*. This I ſhewed from the authority of *Tully*; whom *I prefer therefore*, he ſays, *to the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts*: as if thoſe ſacred writers had expreſly declared *the ſacramental bread, to be God*; which all Proteſtants deny, in that groſs and ridiculous ſenſe, in which *the Papiſts* interpret them. But as it is not my preſent purpoſe to examine the real merit of *Tranſubſtantiation*, ſo I ſhall take notice onely of one argument that he alledges for it, which, if it has any force, muſt be allowed indeed to be concluſive; that "the unerring authority of the Church has de-"clared it to be true, and injoined the belief "of it;" and after ſuch a deciſion, "that it

[*p*] See Pref. p. 15.

" is the part of an Infidel, rather than a Chri-
" ſtian, to aſk, how can this be? [*q*]"

This is the laſt reſort of *Popery*; the ſumm of all their reaſoning; to reſolve all religion into *an implicit faith*, and a ſlaviſh obedience to the authority of the Church; which by *innumerable texts of Scripture*, ſays our Author, *is declared to be the indiſpenſable duty of every Chriſtian* [*r*]. We may ſpare ourſelves then the pains of thinking and inquiring; drop the perilous taſk of ſtudying the Scriptures; *the Church*, like an indulgent mother, takes all that trouble upon herſelf; warrants her doctrines to be divine; and enſures our ſalvation, on the ſingle condition of taking her word for it. But all Proteſtants muſt ſee the horrible effects of ſuch a principle; *an Inquiſition* ready to ſatisfy all their doubts; a priſon and tortures prepared for thoſe, who dare to aſk their prieſts, what *Nicodemus* aſked our Saviour, *How can theſe things be?* Thus our *Catholic*, in mentioning the caſe of a Proteſtant, converted to their faith, who may happen to be poſſeſſed ſtill with ſome ſcruples declares, " that he has nothing to fear in
" conforming himſelf to the authority of the
" Church, but very much, in making any ſcru-
" ple to hear and obey his ſpiritual Guides [*s*].

In this doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, we ſee a remarkable inſtance of the prolific nature of

[*q*] See Catholic Chriſtian, p. 32, 47, 52, 57.
[*r*] Ibid. p. 47. [*s*] Ib. p. 65, 66.

error;

error; and how one abſurdity naturally begets another: for the firſt conſequence of it was, to render one half of the ſacramental inſtitution ſuperfluous, *by denying the cup to the Laity*; though our Saviour expreſly commanded *all his diſciples to drink of it*, and declared, *that without drinking, they could have no Life in them* [*t*]. Yet grant them their *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the concluſion is natural, as our *Catholic* has deduced it; "for whoſoever, *ſays he*, receives the body "of Chriſt, moſt certainly receives his blood at "the ſame time, ſince the body, which he re-"ceives, is a living body, and cannot be "without Blood. There is no taking Chriſt "by pieces; whoever receives him, receives "him whole; and ſince he is as truly and really "preſent in one kind, as in both, he brings "with him conſequently the ſame grace, when "received in one kind, as when received in "both [*u*]." But if they were diſpoſed to uſe their reaſon on *this occaſion*, a concluſion, ſo contradictory to the expreſs *inſtitution* of the Goſpel, would convince them of the falſehood of thoſe principles, by which they were led into it; and oblige them to diſtruſt their premiſes, which have always been diſputed, rather than reject a clear precept of *Chriſt*, on which there never was, or can be any reaſonable diſpute.

[*t*] Matt. xxvi. 27. John vi. 53. 1 Cor. xi. 23.
[*u*] Cathol. Chriſtian, p. 64, 65.

As

As to my *6th and 7th* inſtances of *their Paganiſm*, ſince our *Catholic* has offered nothing upon them worth the pains of conſidering, I ſhall refer the reader to my *Letter*, without troubling him with any thing farther about them, and proceed to the more important article of their *miracles*.

Here he begins to grow warm again, and declares, " that I am always offended with mira-
" cles, wherever I meet with them; and is
" ſorry, that I do not ſpeak out in favor of
" my friends the Freethinkers, and ſhew the
" *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* miracles to be no better,
" than thoſe of the *Pagans* [*x*]." This is the conſtant refuge of baffled zealots, to throw the odium of *infidelity and free thinking* on thoſe, who dare to expoſe their impoſtures. But he hoped perhaps to find ſome even of our own Church ready to join with him in the cry; ſince he appears to be no ſtranger to the offence, which the freedom of *this very Letter* had given to certain men, who are too apt to conſider their own opinions, as the ſtandard of Chriſtian faith; and to treat even the defenders of our religion as deſertors, if they do not ſubmit to act under their direction, and defend it by their principles. Theſe men imagined, that I had attacked *the popiſh miracles* with a gaiety, that ſeemed to contemn all miracles, and particularly thoſe of *our*

[*x*] Pref. p. 4, 17.

Saviour;

Saviour; by invalidating the force of *thoſe rules*, which Mr. *Leſlie* had eſtabliſhed, as *the criterion of true miracles:* whereas the truth of the matter is, as I have often declared it to my friends, that at the time of writing *the Letter*, I had never read Mr. *Leſlie*'s treatiſe, nor ſo much as knew, *what his rules were.*

My onely view was, to expoſe the forgery of *the popiſh miracles* in the ſtrongeſt manner that I was able; and in ſpite of all the evidence, which they pretend to produce for them, to ſhew, that they ſtood upon no better ground, than thoſe of their *Pagan Anceſtors.* I had obſerved, not onely from books, but from experience, what theſe Cavillers perhaps were not ſo well apprized of, that *the pretence of miracles* was the grand ſupport of the *Romiſh Church*, and what gave a ſanction to all their other frauds; that their conſtant appeal to a divine power, exerting itſelf miraculouſly amongſt them, gave them not onely their chief advantage againſt Proteſtants, but furniſhed *the Deiſts* alſo with the moſt obvious arguments againſt revelation itſelf: for "theſe pious cheats, *as* "*Mr.* Leſlie *ſays*, are the foreſt diſgraces of "Chriſtianity, which have bid the faireſt of "any one contrivance, to overturn the certain-"ty of the miracles of Chriſt, and the whole "truth of the Goſpel, by putting them all on "the ſame foot [*y*]." To deſtroy the authority

[*y*] See *Leſlie*'s Short method with the Deiſts, p. 24. Vol. I. of his Works.

therefore of theſe cheats, was to ſap the foundations of *Popery*, and overturn the main pillar, on which it's power ſubſiſts: which was the real motive of my dwelling *longer on this*, than on any other article, as our Catholic obſerves [z], as well as of treating it with that freedom which alarmed even ſome of our Proteſtants.

That my ſentiments therefore on this head may neither be miſtaken, nor ſuſpected; and that I may give ſatisfaction, as far as I am able, to all, whom, by any freedom of expreſſion, I may poſſibly have offended, either in this, or in any other of my writings, I take this occaſion to declare; that I look upon *miracles*, when accompanied with all the circumſtances proper to perſuade us of the reality of the facts, ſaid to be performed, and of the dignity of the end, for which they were performed, to be the moſt deciſive proofs, that can be given, of the truth and divinity of any religion. This was evidently the caſe of *the Jewiſh* and of *the Chriſtian miracles*; wrought in ſuch a manner, as could leave no doubt upon the ſenſes of thoſe, who were the witneſſes of them; and for the nobleſt end, for which the Deity can be conceived to interpoſe himſelf; the univerſal good and ſalvation of man. For *the Jewiſh and Chriſtian diſpenſations* are but different parts of one and the ſame Scheme; mutually illuſtrating and confirming each other's authority: And

[z] Preface, p. 4.

from

from this view of them, in which they ſhould always be conſidered, as neceſſarily connected, and dependent on each other, we ſee the weakneſs of that objection, commonly made to *the Moſaic* part, on the account of it's being calculated for the uſe onely of a peculiar people; whereas in truth, it was the beginning, or firſt opening of an univerſal Syſtem; which, from the time of *Moſes*, was gradually manifeſted to the world by the ſucceſſive miſſions of *the Prophets*, till *that fullneſs of time or coming of the Meſſiah, when life and immortality were brought to light by the Goſpel*, or the chief good and happineſs of man perfectly revealed to him.

That *Miracles* have ever been thought the moſt authentic proofs of a divine miſſion, ſeems to be declared by the ſenſe of all nations: Since there never was a religion pretending to be divine, which did not ſupport that pretenſion by an appeal to them: Yet the innumerable forgeries of this ſort, which have been impoſed upon makind in all ages, are ſo far from weakening the credibility of *the Jewiſh and Chriſtian miracles*, that they ſtrengthen it. For how could we account for a practice ſo univerſal, of forging miracles for the ſupport of falſe religions, if on ſome occaſions they had not actually been wrought, for the confirmation of a true one? Or how is it poſſible, that ſo many ſpurious copies ſhould paſs upon the world, without ſome genuin original, from which they were

were drawn; whoſe known exiſtence and tried ſucceſs might give an appearance of probability to the counterfeit? Now of all the miracles of antiquity, there are none that can pretend to the character of originals, but thoſe of *the Old and New Teſtament*; which though the oldeſt by far, of all others, of which any monuments now remain in the world, have yet maintained their credit to this day, through the perpetual oppoſition and ſcrutiny of ages; whilſt all the rival productions of fraud and craft have long ago been ſucceſſively exploded, and ſunk into utter contempt. An event, that cannot reaſonably be aſcribed to any other cauſe, but to the natural force and effect of truth, which, though defaced for a time by the wit, or depreſſed by the power of man, is ſure ſtill to triumph in the end, over all the falſe mimickry of art, and the vain efforts of human policy.

As to Mr. *Leſlie's rules*, of diſtinguiſhing the true from falſe miracles, I have lately peruſed and conſidered them; and whatever force they may be ſuppoſed to have, I would not adviſe an Apologiſt for Chriſtianity to truſt his cauſe to that ſingle iſſue. Mr. *Leſlie* himſelf does not do it; but ſuggeſts ſeveral other arguments for the divinity of our religion, ſo ſtrong and concluſive, that *even miracles themſelves*, as he declares, *would not be ſufficient to over-rule them* —— [*a*]. His marks however are ſo far certainly good,

[*a*] See Leſlie, ib. p. 21.

that

that no pretence of miracles can deſerve any attention without them; yet it does not neceſſarily follow, that all the miracles, in which they may be found, ought to be received as true; ſince as far as I have been able to obſerve, within the compaſs of my reading, ſeveral might be produced both from *Popery* and *Paganiſm*, which ſeem to poſſeſs them all, and are yet unqueſtionably falſe.

I have charged the Popiſh Church in my *Letter* with many inſtances of *forged miracles*, to which this Author does not think fit to make any particular reply, but contents himſelf with a general anſwer, which muſt needs be thought curious: for he obſerves, *that whether the miracles, which I have pitched upon, be true or falſe, there is nothing at leaſt heatheniſh in them; and conſequently nothing that ſhews the conformity, which I pretend to demonſtrate, between Popery and Paganiſm* [*b*]. Which is in effect to ſay, that allowing them to be forged, yet they were not forged by *Pagan*, but *by Chriſtian Prieſts*; not for the purpoſes of *Pagan*, but of *Chriſtian ſuperſtition*, ſo that I cannot with any propriety call them *heatheniſh*.—But are they not all copied from the patterns of *Paganiſm?* Are they not applied to the ſame purpoſes of fraud and deluſion; to keep their people in a ſlaviſh ſubjection to an *Idolatrous worſhip*; and to acquire wealth and power to the prieſthood? This cer-

[*b*] Pref. p. 18.

tainly

tainly is downright *Paganiſm*, and the moſt deteſtable part of it.

He proceedes however to aſſert with his uſual gravity, " that God has been pleaſed in every " age, to work moſt evident miracles in their " Church, by the miniſtry of his Saints; in " raiſing the dead to life; in curing the blind " and the lame; in caſting out Devils; in heal- " ing inveterate diſeaſes in a moment, atteſted " by the moſt authentic monuments; which " will be a ſtanding evidence to all nations, " that the Church, in which they are wrought, " is not that Idolatrous Pagan Church, which " I pretend it to be, but the true Spouſe of " Chriſt — [*c*]." This is the conſtant voice of all *the Romiſh Apologiſts*; that *the Catholiciſm of their Church is demonſtrated by the notoriety of their miracles* [*d*]. But ſince the end of all miracles is to convert unbelievers; *if* their miracles be really wrought by the power of *Chriſt*, why are they not wrought, like *the miracles of Chriſt*, in open day-light; in the midſt of unbelieving nations; not for the acquiſition of gain or power to particular perſons, but for the benevolent ends of conferring ſome general good, by reforming men's lives, enlightening their underſtandings, and promoting truth and peace and charity amongſt men? Why are none of

[*c*] Ib. 18, 19.

[*d*] Noſtram Eccleſiam demonſtrabimus eſſe veram Eccleſiam miraculis. Bellarm. de Eccleſ. Milit. l. iv. c. 14.

them wrought in *proteſtant* countries, for whoſe converſion they are always alledged; but huddled over among their own bigotted votaries: prepared by an habitual credulity, to receive any impoſture, that their Prieſts can invent [*e*]?

While St. *Thomas*'s Shrine floriſhed at *Canterbury*, his Saintſhip was demonſtrated by *perpetual miracles* [*f*]; in which, as the Hiſtorians

[*e*] *M. de Marolles* takes occaſion to obſerve, from a fact, which happened in *Paris*, 1644, how eaſily people, poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious regard to miracles, can perſuade themſelves, that they ſee, what in truth has no exiſtence. The ſtory is this; a certain man, out of a mere whim, or with deſign perhaps to try his piſtol, ſhot it off againſt a ſign in the Street, on which *the Virgin Mary* was painted. The neighbourhood being alarmed, ran out to ſee what was the matter; and obſerving *the Virgin* to be pierced through with the bullet, conceived it to be done by ſome *Heretic*, or *Blaſphemer*, in open defiance of their religion, and amazed at ſo daring an impiety, fancied that they ſaw *drops of blood* iſſue from the wound: of which the whole multitude was ſo ſtrongly convinced, that there were thouſands ready to depoſe, that they had ſeen it with their own eyes: the ſtory became famous, and a Copper-plate of it was printed; till being ridiculed by men of ſenſe, and found to be wholly imaginary, the Copper-plate was ordered to be ſuppreſſed, and the miracle fell gradually into contempt. But if it had not happened in a country, where the Proteſtants at that time were very numerous, it might have been ſtamped perhaps for as genuin a miracle, as many others of the ſame coinage, which I have taken notice of in the preſent work.

[*f*] *John* of *Saliſbury*, who lived at the time, with a great reputation of learning and integrity, and wrote *Becket's life*, whoſe friend and diſciple he was, ſpeaking of the place and

rians of thoſe times tell us, he far outdid not only all other Saints, but even *our Saviour* himſelf. There were two volumes of them preſerved in the Church of *Canturbury*; and another book in *France*, in which there was an account of *two hundred and ſeventy*. *Peter* of *Blois*, a celebrated writer of that age, after drawing a parallel between *Thomas the Apoſtle*, *and Thomas*

manner of his burial, ſays, "Where to the glory of God "many and great miracles are now wrought by him, the "people flocking thither in crouds, that they may ſee in o-"thers, and feel alſo in themſelves the power and mercy of "him, who is ever wonderfull and glorious in his Saints. "For in the place, on which he ſuffered, and where his body "likewiſe was depoſited that night before the great Altar; "and alſo where he was at laſt buried, the paralytic are "healed; the blind ſee; the deaf hear; the dumb ſpeak; "the lame walk; the Devils are caſt out; all who are ſick "of fevers, or other diſeaſes, are cured; and what was "never heard of in the days of our fathers, the dead are "raiſed. See Vit. S. Thomæ Epiſtolis præfix. Vol. i. 142."

Pope Alexander, the third of that name, in a Letter to the Church of *Canterbury* upon the ſubject of *Thomas's Canonization*, about four years after his death, ſays,—The whole body of the faithfull muſt neceſſarily rejoice to hear of the wonderfull works of the holy and reverend man *Thomas*, your late Archbiſhop: But you muſt needs be filled with a more exalted joy, who behold his miracles with your own eyes, and whoſe Church has the peculiar honor of poſſeſſing his moſt ſacred remains. We on our part having conſidered the glory of his merits, by which his life was made ſo illuſtrious, and having received full and certain information of his miracles, not onely from common fame, but from the teſtimony of our beloved Sons, *Albertus*, and *Theoduinus*, Cardinal Prieſts, and Apoſtolic Legats, and of a great number of other perſons, have ſolemnly canonized the aforeſaid Archbiſhop, &c. Ib. p. 170.

the

the Martyr, ſays, "I do not pretend to com-
"pare a Martyr with an *Apoſtle*; for an *Apoſtle*
"is greater; but it is glorious for us to have *a*
"*Martyr*, who bears the name of an *Apoſtle*,
"and who equals or ſurpaſſes him in his mira-
"cles. That great *Apoſtle* cannot take it amiſs
"that the Holy Spirit ſhould enable others to
"work greater wonders, and in greater num-
"ber than him: Since the Lord both of the
"*Apoſtles and Martyrs* is content to be outdone
"by them himſelf in this particular: *Ye ſhall*
"*do*, ſays he, *not onely theſe works, that I do*;
"*but greater works than theſe ſhall ye do* [*g*]."
Which prediction, as they declare, was literally
fulfilled by St. *Thomas*: "Whoſe blood being
"collected with care immediately after his
"death, not onely cured all diſtempers, but
"raiſed even great numbers of the dead to life:
"And when the quantity was found inſufficient
"for the demand, that was made of it, they
"were forced to ſupply it with water; the leaſt
"drop of which, when tinged with the Martyr's
"blood, and adminiſtred to the ſick, or infuſ-
"ed into the mouths of the dead, had all the
"ſame effects; ſo that it was ſent abroad into
"all parts of the Chriſtian world, as an infal-
"lible cure for all kinds of diſeaſes [*b*]."

[*g*] John xiv. 12.

[*b*] La vie de St. Thomas, p. 442. 4to. it. Vita Italicè, p. 430. *&c.* Pet. Bleſenſ. Epiſt. 17, & 46. Baron Ann. 1173. N°. vii. Speculum Sanctor. ap. Labbè Biblioth. Nov. *&c.*

The fame of theſe miracles drew Kings and Princes from abroad; and infinite crouds at home, with dayly offerings to his Shrine: but this harveſt was no ſooner over, than the power of the Saint fell with the gain of the Prieſt; and all his miracles ceaſed, when the honor of his Altar ſtood moſt in need of their ſupport; ſo that, the place where he was formerly worſhipped, and where ſuch mighty wonders were once wrought, is now ſhewn as a monument onley of the folly and ſuperſtition of our Anceſtors. But though he works no miracles in *England*, where his bones lie depoſited; he works them ſtill in foreign countries, and will continue to do ſo, as long as there is a Popiſh Church and a Prieſthood, who find their intereſt in ſupporting them. For, as *Lactantius* juſtly obſerves, "among thoſe, who ſeek power and gain from "their religion, there will never be wanting an "inclination to forge and to lie for it [*i*]."

They tell us indeed of *many miracles* of the greateſt kind, wrought by their Miſſionaries in *India*: but they all reſt upon no other authority, than the ſuſpected relations of thoſe Miſſionaries; and are even contradicted by ſome of their graveſt writers. A Royal Profeſſor of *Salamanca*, in one of his public lectures, ſays; "it "does not appear to me, that the Chriſtian "faith has been propounded to the *Indians* in

[*i*] Lactan. de falſ. relig. i. 4.

"ſuch

" ſuch a manner, as would reaſonably induce " them to receive it; for I hear of *no miracles* " performed amongſt them, nor of ſuch exam- " ples of the Chriſtian life, as there ought to be; " but on the contrary, of much ſcandal and im- " impiety." Another learned *Jeſuit*, who had ſpent many years among the *Indians*, in a treatiſe on the method of converting them, *ſays*; " What ſignifies all our preaching? What " ſtreſs can we lay upon it? We work *no mira-* " *cles* [*k*]." But among all the boaſted miracles of theſe Miſſionaries, they have never ſo much as pretended to *the gift of tongues*; which is the firſt thing neceſſary to the converſion of barbarous nations; and without which all their preaching, and even miracles themſelves would be uſeleſs: Yet St. *Xaverius* himſelf, *the Apoſtle of the Indies*, and one of *their great Saints and workers of miracles*, laments, in ſeveral of his letters, the inſuperable difficulties, which he had to ſtruggle with in his Miſſion, and his incapacity *of doing any good in thoſe countries, for the want of this gift.* And in *Japan* particularly, where, according to his account a plentifull harveſt was open to him, and great numbers diſpoſed to become Chriſtians; " God grant, " *ſays he*, that I may ſoon learn their language, " ſo as to be able to explane things divine, and " do ſome ſervice at laſt to the Chriſtian cauſe. " For at preſent indeed, I am nothing better " than a ſtatue among them; and while they " are talking and inquiring many things about

[*k*] Hoſpinian de Origin. Jeſuitar. p. 230.

" me, am quite dumb through my ignorance " of their tongue: but I am now acting the boy " again in learning the elements of it [*l*]."

Sir *Thomas Roe*, in a Letter to the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* from the Court of *the great Mogul*, relates a fact very applicable to our preſent ſubject; " That the Jeſuit's Houſe and Church in " that country happening to be burnt, the Cru- " cifix remained untouched; which was given " out as a miracle. The King called for the " Jeſuit, and queſtioned him about it; but he " anſwered ambiguouſly: The King then " aſked, whether he did not deſire to convert " him; And being anſwered in the affirmative, " replied; You ſpeak of your great miracles, " and of many done in the name of your Pro- " phet; if you will caſt the Crucifix into a fire " before me, and it does not burn, I will be- " come a Chriſtian. The *Jeſuit* refuſed the " trial, as unjuſt; anſwering, that God was " not tied to the call of man; that it was a Sin " to tempt him; and that he wrought miracles " according to his own will; yet he offered to " caſt himſelf into the fire, as a proof of his " own faith, which the King would not allow.

[*l*] Itaque cum neque illi meam, neque ego illorum linguam intelligerem, &c. Xaverii Epiſt. l. v. Sane laborioſum eſt, eorum, quibuſcum verſeris, funditus ignorare ſermonem. ib. i. 14. Faxit Deus, ut ad divinarum explicationem rerum, *Japonicam* linguam condiſcamus quam primum. Tum demum aliquam Chriſtianæ rei navabimus operam. Nam nunc quidem inter eos tanquam mutæ quædam ſtatuæ verſamur, &c. ib. l. iii. 5.

" Upon

" Upon this, there aroſe a great diſpute, begun " by the Prince; a ſtiff Mahometan, and hater " of Chriſtians; who urged, that it was rea- " ſonable to try our religion after this manner; " but withal, that if the Crucifix did burn, then " the Jeſuit ſhould be obliged to turn Moor: " He alledged examples alſo of miracles ſaid to " be wrought for leſs purpoſes, than the con- " verſion of ſo *mighty* a King; and ſpoke " *ſcornfully* of Jeſus Chriſt." Yet nothing could move *the Jeſuit*, to expoſe the Authority of his religion to the hazard of ſo dangerous a trial [*m*].

But as in the caſe of all beneficial impoſtures, the ſecurity of the managers is apt to puſh them at laſt to an extravagance, that betrays the whole cheat, ſo it has happened in the affair of *the Popiſh miracles*; which have been carried to ſuch a *heighth of* impudence and abſurdity, as renders them *wholly contemptible*; while all their *greater Saints*, and eſpecially *the Founders of the Monaſtic Orders*, St. *Francis*, St. *Dominic*, *&c.* are preferred, not onely *to the Apoſtles*, but to *Chriſt* himſelf, for the number and importance of their miracles; many of which are authoriſed by *the Bulls of Popes*, condemning all as *Heretics*, who do not believe them [*n*]: though they are all pretended to be wrought for

[*m*] See Collection of Travels publiſhed by *Churchill*, p. 805, 806.

[*n*] Vid. Hoſpinian. p. 398, 438.

no other end, but the propagation of *Enthuſiaſm* and *Monkery*, and the confirmation of certain doctrines and rites, which are not onely uſeleſs, but apparently hurtfuly to mankind.

If any ſuch miracles therefore were ever wrought, of which there is the greateſt reaſon to doubt, we muſt neceſſarily aſcribe them to *the power of the Devil*; endeavouring by ſuch deluſions to draw men away from the worſhip of the true God. This we are warranted to think probable, by the principles of our Religion, and the authority of the primitive Fathers? who exhort us on all ſuch occaſions, *to try the miracles*, by their end and tendency, and the nature of that doctrine, which is propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by them: for though miracles carry the ſtrongeſt preſumption, as I have ſaid, of the divinity of a doctrine in whoſe favour they are alledged, yet they are intended chiefly to rouſe the attention of the world to the preacher or prophet, who pretends to perform them, that his commiſſion may be openly examined, whether it be of God or not.

The *Jeſuit Maldonatus*, in his Comment *on Matt.* vii. 22. obſerves, "That St. *Chryſoſtom*, "*Jerom*, *Euthemius*, *Theophylact*, prove by "ſeveral inſtances, that real miracles had been "performed by thoſe, who were not Catholic "Chriſtians." St. *Chryſoſtom* declares, "that "miracles are proper only to excite ſluggiſh

"and

" and vulgar minds; that men of ſenſe have " no occaſion for them; and that they fre- " quently carry ſome untoward ſuſpicion along " with them [*o*]." " We are to take notice, " *ſays St.* Jerom, that ſome are ſaid to have " the gifts of the Spirit, who do not hold the " truth of the Goſpel, which may ſerve to " ſilence thoſe Heretics, who if they can but " work a miracle, fancy preſently, that they " have demonſtrated the truth of their " faith [*p*]." " If miracles, *ſays St. Auſtin*, are " wrought in the Catholic Church, it's Catho- " liciſm is not thereby manifeſted, becauſe " miracles are wrought in it; but the miracles " themſelves are to be received, becauſe they " are wrought in a Church, that is Catholic." And *Theororet* tells us, " that we are com- " manded, not to give credit to them, when " the performers of them teach things contrary " to true piety [*q*]."

If agreeably then to the injunctions of the Apoſtles, and Primitive Fathers; we ſit down to examine the pretended miracles of *Rome*, we ſhall find them always the moſt numerous, and the moſt confidently atteſted, in proportion to the abſurdity of the doctrine or practice, in

[*o*] Vide Chryſoſt. Oper. Edit. Benedict. T. v. 271. a. 376. b. T. viii. 296. a. 205, 455.

[*p*] Vid. Hieron. in Galat. iii. Oper. T. iv. p. 251. Edit. Bened.

[*q*] Vid. Hoſpin. de doctrina Jeſuit. p. 388.

whoſe

whoſe favor they are alledged; as in the caſe *of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, the worſhip of Images, Reliques, Crucifixes, Indulgences, and all the tricks of Monkery*; as if miracles were of no other uſe, but to ſubvert the reaſon and ſenſes of mankind, and confound all the diſtinctions between right and wrong: but if there be any rule of judging of their reality, or any power in man to diſcern truth from falſehood, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, from *the nature and end of the Popiſh miracles*, that whatever teſtimonies may be brought to ſupport them, they were all, without exception, either *wrought by wicked ſpirits, or forged by wicked men.*

I have now run through every thing, that ſeemed worthy of any notice in my adverſary's Preface; where I have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that though he accuſes me ſo freely *of ſlander and falſehood*, yet he has not denied ſo much as one of the numerous facts, on which I ground my charge of their *paganiſm*. It was upon the ſtrength of theſe facts, that I firſt offered my Letter to the judgement of the public, and the favorable reception which it has met with, ſhews, that it is not thought trifling, and foreign to the purpoſe, as he affirms it to be; but pertinent and deciſive of the queſtion, which it profeſſes to illuſtrate. It is a folly therefore to attack the credit of it, till he comes prepared to overthrow the facts, on which it is built; for while theſe are allowed to be firm,

the inference is undeniable, "that Popery has "borrowed it's principal ceremonies and doc- "trines from the rituals of Paganiſm."

The truth of this charge is ſo evident to all, who know any thing of antiquity, that though a Miſſionary, as we may imagine, would be glad to conceal it even from Papiſts, and much more from Proteſtants, whom he is endeavouring to convert, yet all their own writers, who have any candor and learning, make no ſcruple to acknowledge it. *M. de Marolles* informs us, how he once *ſurprized a great Archbiſhop of France*, by a frank declaration of it: which he afterwards demonſtrated to him at large, by a particular deduction of it through many of the ſame inſtances, on which I have inſiſted in my Letter [*r*]. The learned *Du Choul* alſo thus concludes his book *on the Religion of the old Romans:* "If we conſider the caſe at- "tentively, we *ſhall find very many* inſtitu- "tions of our religion to have been borrowed "from the ceremonies of the *Ægyptians* and "the *Gentiles*—all which our Prieſts now make "uſe of in our myſteries, by referring to the "onely true God, *Jeſus Chriſt*, what the igno-

[*r*] Un jour que j'etois aupres de Monſ. de la Feüillade, Archeveſque d'Embrun — l'occaſion s'etant offerte de luy dite, que beaucoup de ceremonies du Paganiſme avoient eté ſanctifiées par la pietè de noſtre Religion, ce qui ne s'eſtoit point fait ſans myſtere; je m'apperceus, qu'il s'en etonna un peu: Sur quoy je luy demandai audience, &c. Memoires de Marolles, par. ii. p. 209.

"rance

" rance, falſe religion, and ſenſeleſs ſuperſti-
" tion of the *Pagans* had applied to their
" Gods, and to mortal men after their conſe-
" cration [*s*]."

Our *Catholic* however concludes his work in a very different ſtile: and in a kind of triumph for an imagined victory, undertakes by my own way of reaſoning, to demonſtrate *the ſame Conformity between the Engliſh and Roman Church*, which I have attempted to ſhew between *Popery and Paganiſm*; *from the number of obſervances, which our Church ſtill retains from the old Religion of Rome:* in conſequence of which, he ſays, " if " my argument be right, our Proteſtancy at " laſt will be found to be nothing better than " heatheniſh Idolatry." But if we recollect the definition, which I have given above, of *Popery*, the queſtion will be reduced to a ſhort iſſue; by conſidering onely, whether any of thoſe particulars, which prove their religion to be *paganiſh*, are retained ſtill in ours; whether we have any *incenſe, holy water, or lamps* in our Churches; *any votive offerings* hanging round our pillars; *any miraculous images*; *any adoration of Saints*; *any altars in the ſtreets, the wayſides, and tops of hills*; *any proceſſions*; *miracles, or monkery amongſt us:* if after all our reformation, we retain any of theſe, we are ſo far undoubtedly as criminal as they; but if none of them can be found upon us, we are clear at

[*s*] De religione Veter. Romanor. ad fin.

leaſt

leaſt from all that *pagan idolatry*, which glares out ſo manifeſtly from every part of *the Popiſh* worſhip.

All that he can object to us on this head, amounts to no more than this; "That there "are ſeveral obſervances retained in our ſa- "cred Offices, which we uſe in common with "the Church of *Rome*:" we own it: but take them *all to be ſuch*, as we may *retain with in*nocence. We profeſs to retain all, that is truly Chriſtian; all, that is injoined by the Goſpel, or by juſt inference deducible from it. But if beſides all this, they can diſcover any thing amongſt us, that they can claim as their own: or that may properly be called *Popiſh*; I ſhould willingly reſign it to them; and conſent to any expedient, that may remove us farther ſtill from *Popery*, and unite us more cloſely with all ſober *Proteſtants*. *But whether* any thing of this ſort be remaining *in our preſent eſtabliſhment*; or how far any of the inſtances, which he declares to have been borrowed from *Rome*, may want a review or farther reformation, as it is not the part of a private man to determine, ſo I ſhall refer it, as I ought, to the Judgement of my Superiors. But it is high time to put an end to the reader's trouble, to which I ſhall beg leave onely to add the following *anonymous Letter*, which has ſome relation to my preſent Subject, and was ſent to me by the poſt, while I was employed on the life of *Cicero*.

"*SIR*,

"*SIR*,

"You are deſired by one of your Subſcribers, "inſtead of amuſing yourſelf with writing *the* "*life of Cicero*, to anſwer *the Catholic Chriſtian*, "written (as the Author declares) in anſwer to, "and in order to ſhew your falſe reaſonings in "your compariſon *of the Popiſh and Pagan* "*ceremonies of religion*—*This Catholic Chriſtian* "abuſes the Proteſtant Religion, taxes it's "Divines with falſe tranſlations and quotations "out of Scripture, which he pretends, they "do not underſtand or miſapply, to make out "their own *Heretical* doctrines.—Such ſcan-"dalous reproaches brought upon yourſelf, "and alſo upon the Proteſtant Religion by "your writings, make it incumbent on you, "to wipe off theſe ſtains, which by your means "are contracted, before you enter upon any "other ſubject.

"*I am yours*, &c."

"*P. S.* It had been honeſter and fairer, to "have anſwered the book, than to have com-"plained *to the Biſhop of London*, againſt the "Printer, and got him put into Priſon."

I do not know, how far my unknown Correſpondent will think himſelf obliged to me, for performing the taſk, that he preſcribes, of defending my *Letter from Rome*, from the cavils of *the Catholic Chriſtian*: I am in hopes however

ever, that my pains may be of ſome uſe, as well to admoniſh all ſerious *Papiſts*, of the fraud and foppery of their own worſhip, as to deter Proteſtants from running over to a Church, ſo notoriouſly corrupt and *Heatheniſh*. — As to the charge intimated in the poſtſcript, of *procuring the impriſonment of the Printer, inſtead of anſwering the Author*, it would have left indeed a juſt reproach upon me, if there had been any truth in it; but if any man has been impriſoned, or put to any trouble, on the account of that book, I declare, that I am an utter ſtranger to it; that I have not the honour to be known *to the Biſhop of London*; and that no perſonal provocation whatſoever could induce me, to deſire the impriſonment of any man for the ſake of his religion. My averſion to *Popery* is grounded, not onely on *it's paganiſm and idolatry*, but on it's being calculated for the ſupport of deſpotic power, and inconſiſtent with the genius of a free government. *This* I take to be it's real character; which I do not however extend to the particular profeſſors of it; many of whom I know to be men of great probity, politeneſs, and humanity; who through the prejudice of education, do not either ſee the conſequences of what they are trained to profeſs, or through a miſtaken point of honor, think it a duty to adhere to the religion of their Anceſtors. With theſe I can live, not only in charity, but in friendſhip; without the leaſt inclination to offend them any farther, than by obſtructing

obſtructing all endeavours to introduce a religion amongſt us, which would neceſſarily be ruinous to the liberty of our country. Thus much I thought myſelf obliged to ſay upon the occaſion of the foregoing Letter, that while *the Papiſts* look upon me as an enemy, they may conſider me at leaſt as a fair one; an enemy *to the idolatrous and ſlaviſh principles of their Church*; but free from all prejudice, or enmity to their perſons.

TO

TO THE

READER.

THE following reflections were the ſubject of ſeveral Letters written by me from Rome, *to my friends in* England; *and as the argument of them was much upon my thoughts, and always in my view, during my ſtay in* Italy, *ſo there hardly paſſed a day, that did not afford me freſh matter and proof for the confirmation of it, till my collections grew up to the ſize in which they now appear. Upon a review of them at my return, I found it neceſſary, for the ſake of method and connection, to diſpoſe them into one continued argument, and to collect into one view, under the form of a ſingle Letter, what had been more ſlightly and ſeparately touched in ſeveral.*

Many writers, I know, have treated the ſame ſubject before me; ſome of which I have never ſeen; but thoſe, whom I have looked into, handle it in a manner ſo different from what I have purſued, that I am under no apprehenſion of being thought a Plagiary, or to have undertaken a province already occupied. My obſervations are grounded on facts, of which I have been an eye witneſs myſelf, and

which others perhaps had not the opportunity of examining perſonally, or conſidering ſo particularly as I have done: and in my preſent repreſentation of them, I have not claimed the allowed privilege of a Traveller, to be believed on my own word, but for each article charged on the Church of Rome, *have generally produced ſuch vouchers, as thay themſelves will allow to be authentic.*

Much leiſure, with an infirm ſtate of health, was the cauſe of my journey to Italy; *and on ſuch an occaſion, I thought it my duty, to uſe the opportunity given me by Providence, towards detecting and expoſing, as far as I was able, the true ſpring and ſource of thoſe impoſtures, which, under the name of Religion, have been forged from time to time for no other purpoſe, than to oppreſs the liberty, and engroſs the property of mankind.*

But whatever be my opinion of the general ſcheme of that religion, yet, out of juſtice to the particular profeſſors of it, I think myſelf obliged to declare, that I found much candor, humanity, and politeneſs in all thoſe, whom I had the honor to converſe with; and though my character and profeſſion were well known at Rome, *yet I received particular civilities from perſons of the firſt diſtinction both in the Church and the Court.*

A LET-

A

LETTER

FROM

ROME.

SIR,

I AM ſenſible, that by this time you cannot but be deſirous to have ſome account of the entertainment, that I have met with in *Rome*; for as you have often heard me declare a very high opinion of the pleaſure, which a curious man might reaſonably expect to find in it, ſo you will be impatient to hear, how far my expectation has been anſwered, and my curioſity ſatisfied. You have obſerved, without doubt, from my former letters, that the pleaſure of my travels ſeemed to grow upon me in proportion to the progreſs, which I made on my journey, and to my approach towards *Rome*; and that every place, which I had ſeen the laſt, ſtill pleaſed me the moſt. This was certainly true in my road through *Lyons*, *Turin*, *Genua*,

Florence; but is much more remarkably ſo with regard to *Rome*; which, of all the places that I have yet ſeen, or ever ſhall ſee, is by far the moſt delightful: ſince all thoſe very things, which had recommended any other place to me, and which I had been admiring before, ſingle and diſperſed, in the ſeveral cities through which I paſſed, may be ſeen in *Rome*, as it were in one view, and not onely in greater plenty, but in greater perfection.

I have often been thinking, that this voyage to *Italy* might properly enough be compared to the common ſtages and journey of life. At our ſetting out through *France*, the pleaſures that we find, like thoſe of our youth, are of the gay fluttering kind, which grow by degrees, as we advance towards *Italy*, more ſolid, manly, and rational, but attain not their full perfection till we reach *Rome*, from which point we no ſooner turn homewards, than they begin again gradually to decline, and though ſuſtained for a while in ſome degree of vigor, through the other ſtages and cities of *Italy*, yet dwindle at laſt into wearineſs and fatigue, and a deſire to be at home; where the traveller finiſhes his courſe, as the old man does his days, with the uſual privilege of being tireſome to his friends, by a perpetual repetition of paſt Adventures.

But to return to my ſtory. *Rome* is certainly of all cities in the world the moſt entertaining

to

to ſtrangers: for whether we conſider it in it's ancient, or preſent; it's civil, or eccleſiaſtical ſtate; whether we admire the great perfection of arts in the noble remains of *Old Rome*; or the revival of the ſame arts in the beautiful ornaments of *modern Rome*; every one, of what genius or taſte ſoever, will be ſure to find ſomething or other, that will deſerve his attention, and engage his curioſity: and even thoſe, who have no particular taſt or regard at all for things curious, but travel meerly for the ſake of faſhion, and to waſte time, will ſtill ſpend that time with more ſatisfaction at *Rome*, than any where elſe; from that eaſy manner, in which they find themſelves accommodated with all the conveniences of life; that general civility and reſpect to ſtrangers; that quiet and ſecurity, which every man of prudence is ſure to find in it. But one thing is certainly peculiar to this city; that though travellers have generally been ſo copious in their deſcriptions of it, and there are publiſhed in all parts of *Europe* ſuch voluminous collections of it's curioſities, yet it is a ſubject never to be exhauſted: ſince in the infinite variety of entertainment, which it affords, every judicious obſerver will neceſſarily find ſomething or other, that has either eſcaped the ſearches of others, or that will at leaſt afford matter for more particular and curious remarks, than a common traveller is capable of making, or a general collector has time to reflect on. The *learned*

Montfaucon, ſpeaking of the *Villa of Prince Borgheſe*, ſays, though it's *Antique monuments and rarities have been a hundred times deſcribed in print, that many more of them ſtill have been overlooked and omitted, than are yet publiſhed* [*a*]. And if this be true of one ſingle collection, what an idea muſt we have of the immenſe treaſure of the ſame kind, which the whole city is able to furniſh?

As for my own journey to this place, it was not, I own, any motive of devotion, which draws ſo many others hither, that occaſioned it. My zeal was not bent on viſiting the *holy threſholds of the Apoſtles*, or *kiſſing the feet of their ſucceſſor*. I knew, that, their *eccleſiaſtical antiquities* were moſtly fabulous and legendary; ſupported by fictions and impoſtures, too groſs to employ the attention of a man of ſenſe. For ſhould we allow, that St. *Peter* had been at *Rome*, (of which many learned men however have doubted [*b*],) yet they had not, I knew, any *authentic monuments* remaining of him; any *viſible footſteps* ſubſiſting, to demonſtrate his reſidence among them: and

[*a*] Adeo ut cum ſexcenties in deſcriptionibus, quæ de villa Burgheſiana in publicum emiſſæ ſunt, monumenta bene multa enumerata recenſitaque ſint, multo plura prætermiſſa ſint inobſervata. Diar. Ital. c. xvi.

[*b*] De Petri Romam adventu, ſede xxv. annorum, ſupremo capitis ſupplicio ibidem, nemo, qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere poſſet. Scalig. in Joh. xviii. 31. it. Vid. Frid. Spanh. Miſcellan. Sacræ Antiq. l. iii. Diſſertat. iii.

ſhould

ſhould we aſk them for any evidence of this kind, they would refer us to the *impreſſion of his face on the wall of the dungeon, in which he was confined:* or to *a fountain in the bottom of it, raiſed miraculouſly by him out of the rock, in order to baptize his fellow-priſoners* [*c*]: or to the *mark of our Saviour's feet in a ſtone, on which he appeared to him, and ſtopped him, as he was flying out of the city from a perſecution then raging:* In memory of which, there was a *Church built on the ſpot, called St. Mary delle Piante*, or of the *marks of the feet*; which falling into decay was ſupplied by a chapel, at the expence of our Cardinal *Pool* [*d*]. But the *ſtone* itſelf, *more valuable*, as their writers ſay [*e*], *than any of the precious ones; being a perpetual monument and proof of the Chriſtian Religion; is preſerved with all due reverence in St.* Sebaſtian's *Church*; where I purchaſed a print of it, with ſeveral others of the ſame kind. Or they would appeal perhaps to the evidence of ſome *miracle* wrought at his execution; as they do in the caſe of St. *Paul* in a *Church* called, *At the three*

[*c*] Due glorioſe memorie laſciarono dì ſe in queſta prigione i detti ſanti Apoſtoli, &c. Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. v. c. 13. Rione di Campitelli. It. Vid. Aringhi Rom. ſubterran. l. ii. c. 1. It. Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c. xiii. p. 174.

Unda deeſt: Petri virga Tarpeia Rupes
Percuſſa, e Petris larga fluenta dedit, &c.

[*d*] Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa 21.

[*e*] Vid. Aring. ibid. l. iii. c. 21. Lapis vero ille dignifſimus & omni pretioſo lapidi anteferendus, in D. Sebaſtiani eccleſiam tranſlatus, ibidem, quo par eſt religionis cultu, in perenne Religionis Chriſtianæ monumentum aſſervatur. Ibid

Fountains; the place where he was beheaded: on which occaſion, it ſeems, "Inſtead of blood "there iſſued only milk from his veins; and "his head, when ſeparated from the body, "having made three jumps upon the ground, "raiſed at each place a ſpring of living water, "which retains ſtill, as they would perſuade us, "the plain taſt of milk;" of all which facts we have an account in *Baronius*, *Mabillon*, and all their *graveſt authors* [*f*]; and may ſee printed figures of them in the deſcription of *modern Rome* [*g*].

It was no part of my deſign, to ſpend my time abroad, in attending to the ridiculous fictions of this kind: the chief pleaſure, which I propoſed to myſelf, was to viſit the genuin remains, and *venerable reliques of Pagan Rome*; the *authentic monuments of antiquity*, that demonſtrate the certainty of *thoſe hiſtories*, which are the entertainment, as well as the inſtruction of our younger years; and which, by the early prejudice of being the firſt knowledge that we acquire, as well as the delight, which they give, in deſcribing the lives and manners of

[*f*] Cum ſacrum caput obtruncaretur, non tam fluenta ſanguinis, quam candidiſſimi lactis rivuli, &c.

It. In ipſo autem Martyrii loco tres adhuc perexigui jugiter fontes, &c. horum primus cæteris dulcior ſaporem lactis præ ſe fert, &c. Aring. l. iii. c. 2. It. vid. Baronii Annal. A. D. 69. It. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 142.

[*g*] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. c. 17. *Rione di Ripa*.

the

the greateſt men, who ever lived, gain ſometimes ſo much upon our riper age, as to exclude too often other more uſeful and neceſſary ſtudies. I could not help flattering myſelf with the joy, that I ſhould have, in viewing the *very place* and *ſcene* of thoſe important events, the knowledge and explication of which have ever ſince been the chief employment of the learned and polite world; in *treading that ground*, where at every ſtep we ſtumble on the ruins of *ſome fabric* deſcribed by the *Antients*; and cannot help ſetting a foot on the *memorial* of ſome *celebrated action*, in which the *great heroes of antiquity* had been perſonally engaged. I amuſed myſelf with the thoughts of taking a turn in thoſe very walks, where *Cicero* and his friends had held *their philoſophical diſputations*, or of ſtanding on that very ſpot, where he had delivered ſome of his *famous orations*.

Such fancies as theſe, with which I often entertained myſelf on my road to *Rome*, are not, I dare ſay, peculiar to myſelf, but common to all men of reading and education; whoſe dreams upon a *voyage to Italy*, like the deſcriptions of the *Elyſian fields*, repreſent nothing to their fancies, but the pleaſure of finding out and converſing with *thoſe ancient Sages* and *Heroes*, whoſe characters they have moſt admired. Nor indeed is this imagination much diſappointed in the event; for, as *Cicero* obſerves

ſerves, " [*b*] Whether it be from nature, or " ſome weakneſs in us, it is certain, that we " are much more affected with the ſight of " thoſe places, where great and famous men " have ſpent moſt part of their lives, than ei- " ther to hear of their actions, or read their " works:" and he was not, as he tells us, " ſo much pleaſed with *Athens* itſelf, for it's " ſtately buildings or exquiſite pieces of art, as " in recollecting the great men whom it had " bred; in carefully viſiting their ſepulchers; " and finding out the place where each had " lived, or walked, or held his diſputations [*i*]." This is what every man of curioſity will, in the like circumſtances, find true in himſelf; and for my own part, as oft as I have been rambling about in the very *roſtra of old Rome*, or in that *temple of Concord*, where *Tully* aſſembled the Senate in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy [*k*]; I could not help fancying myſelf much more ſenſible of the force of his eloquence; whilſt the impreſſion of the place ſerved to warm my imagina-

[*b*] Natura de nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus Memoria dignos viros acceperimus multos eſſe verſatos, magis moveamur, quam ſi quando eorum ipſorum aut facta audiamus, aut ſcriptum aliquod legamus. Cic. de Fin. v.

[*i*] Me quidem ipſæ illæ noſtræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis exquiſitiſque antiquorum Artibus delectant, quam recordatione ſummorum virorum, ubi quiſque habitare, ubi ſedere, ubi diſputare ſit ſolitus; ſtudioſeque eorum etiam ſepulchra contemplor. De Legib. ii. 2.

[*k*] Vid. Orat. in Catilin. 3, 4. It. Phil. ii. 4.

tion to a degree almoſt equal to that of his *old audience.*

As therefore my general ſtudies had furniſhed me with a competent knowledge of *Roman Hiſtory*, as well as an inclination, to ſearch more particularly into ſome branches of it's antiquities, ſo I had reſolved to employ myſelf chiefly in inquiries of this ſort; and to loſe as little time as poſſible, in taking notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the *preſent Religion* of the place. But I ſoon found myſelf miſtaken; for the whole form and outward dreſs of their worſhip ſeemed ſo groſly *idolatrous and extravagant*, beyond what I had imagined, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on me, that I could not help conſidering it with a particular regard; eſpecially when the very reaſon, which I thought would have hindred me from taking any notice of it at all, was the chief cauſe, that engaged me to pay ſo much attention to it: for nothing, I found, concurred ſo much with my original intention of converſing with the ancients; or ſo much helped my imagination, to fancy myſelf wandering about in *old Heathen Rome*, as to obſerve and attend to their *religious worſhip*; all whoſe ceremonies appeared plainly to have been copied from the *rituals of primitive Paganiſm*; as if handed down by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the *prieſts of old*, to the *prieſts of new Rome*; whilſt each of them readily explained and called to my mind ſome paſſage of a *claſſic author*,

author, where the *ſame ceremony* was deſcribed, as tranſacted in the *ſame form and manner*, and in the *ſame place*, where I now ſaw it executed before my eyes: ſo that as oft as I was preſent at any religious exerciſe in *their Churches*, it was more natural, to fancy myſelf looking on at ſome *ſolemn act of idolatry in old Rome*, than aſſiſting at a worſhip, inſtituted on the principles, and formed upon the plan of Chriſtianity.

Many of our Divines have, I know, with much learning and ſolid reaſoning charged, and effectually proved the *crime of idolatry on the Church of* Rome: but theſe controverſies (in which there is ſtill ſomething plauſible to be ſaid on the other ſide, and where the charge is conſtantly denied, and with much ſubtility evaded) are not capable of giving that conviction, which I immediately received from my ſenſes; the ſureſt witneſſes of fact in all caſes; and which no man can fail to be furniſhed with, who ſees *Popery*, as it is exerciſed in *Italy*, in the full pomp and diſplay of its pageantry; and practiſing all its arts and powers without caution or reſerve. This *ſimilitude of the Popiſh and Pagan Religion*, ſeemed ſo evident and clear, and ſtruck my imagination ſo forcibly, that I ſoon reſolved to give myſelf the trouble of ſearching to the bottom; and to explain and demonſtrate the certainty of it, by comparing together the principal and moſt obvious parts of each worſhip, which, as it was my firſt employment after I came to *Rome*, ſhall be the ſubject of my firſt Letter.

Letter. Reſerving therefore to my next, the account, that I deſign to give you of the *antiquities* and other *curioſities* of the place, I ſhall find matter enough for this time, to tire both you and myſelf, in ſhewing the *ſource and origin* of the *Popiſh Ceremonies*, and the exact *conformity* of them with thoſe of their *Pagan anceſtors*.

The very firſt thing that a ſtranger muſt neceſſarily take notice of, as ſoon as he enters their *Churches*, is the uſe of *incence* or *perfumes* in their *religious offices*: the firſt ſtep, which he takes within the door, will be ſure to make him ſenſible of it, by the offence, that he will immediately receive from the ſmell, as well as ſmoak of this *incenſe*; with which the whole Church continues filled for ſome time after every ſolemn ſervice. A cuſtom, received directly from *Paganiſm*; and which preſently called to my mind the old deſcriptions of the *Heathen temples and altars*, which are ſeldom or never mentioned by the *ancients* without the epithet of *perfumed* or *incenſed* [*l*].

In ſome of their *principal Churches*, where you have before you, in one view, a *great num-*

[*l*] — Τέμενος Βωμός τε θυήεις. Hom. Il. ψ. 148.
— *Thuricremis cum dona imponeret Aris.*
Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 453.
Theocrit. Id. ιζ. 123. Hom. Il. θ. 48. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 486.
Sæpe Jovem vidi, cum jam ſua mittere vellet,
Fulmina, thure dato ſuſtinuiſſe manum. Ovid.

ber

ber of altars, and all of them ſmoaking at once with *ſteams of incenſe*, how natural is it to imagine one's ſelf tranſported into the *temple of ſome Heathen deity*, or that of the *Paphian Venus* deſcribed by *Virgil?*

——— *Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo*
Thure calent aræ, ſertiſque recentibus halant.
Æn. i. 420.

Her hundred altars there with garlands crown'd,
And richeſt incenſe ſmoaking, breath around
Sweet odors, *&c.*

Under the *Pagan Emperors*, the uſe of *incenſe* for any purpoſe of religion was thought ſo contrary to the obligations of *Chriſtianity*, that, in their perſecutions, the very method of *trying and convicting a Chriſtian, was by requiring him onely, to throw the leaſt grain of it into the cenſer, or on the altar* [*m*].

Under the *Chriſtian Emperors*, on the other hand, it was looked upon as a *rite* ſo peculiarly

[*m*] Maximus dixit: Thure tantum Deos, Nicander, honorato. Nicander dixit: Quomodo poteſt homo Chriſtianus lapides & ligna colere, Deo relicto immortali? &c. Vid. Act. Martyr. Nicandri, &c. apud Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 247.

Adeo ut Chriſtianos verè ſacrificare crederent, ubi ſummis digitis paululum thuris injeciſſent acerram, &c. Vide Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 9.

Non eſt in eo tantùm ſervitus Idoli, ſiquis duobus digitulis thura in buſtum aræ jaciat. Hieron. Oper. t. iv. Epiſt. ad Heliod. p. 8.

heatheniſh

heatheniſh, that [*n*] the very *places or houſes*, where it could be proved to have been done, were by a *law of* Theodoſius *confiſcated to the government.*

In the *old bas-reliefs*, or *pieces of ſculpture*, where any *Heathen ſacrifice* is repreſented, we never fail to obſerve a *boy in ſacred habit*, which was always white, attending on *the prieſt*, with a little *cheſt* or *box* in his hands, in which this *incenſe* was kept for the *uſe of the altar* [*o*]. And in the ſame manner ſtill in the *Church of Rome*, there is always a *boy in ſurplice*, waiting on the *prieſt* at the *altar* with the ſacred utenſils, and, among the reſt, the *Thuribulum* or *veſſel of incenſe*, which the *prieſt*, with many ridiculous motions and croſſings, waves ſeveral times, as it is ſmoaking, around, and over the altar in different parts of the ſervice.

The next thing, that will of courſe ſtrike one's imagination, is their uſe of *holy water*: for nobody ever goes in or out of a *church*, but is either *ſprinkled by the prieſt*, who attends for that purpoſe on ſolemn days, or elſe ſerves himſelf with it from a *veſſel*, uſually of marble,

[*n*] Namque omnia loca, quæ Thuris conſtiterit vapore fumâſſe, ſi tamen ea fuiſſe in jure thurificantium probabitur, fiſco noſtro adſocianda cenſemus, &c. Jac. Gothof. de Stat. Paganor. ſub Chriſtian. Imper. leg. xii. p. 15.

[*o*] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. tom. ii. Plate 23, 24, 25.

Da mihi Thura, puer, pingues facientia flammas.
Ovid. Triſt. v. 5.

placed

placed juſt at the door, not unlike to one of our *baptiſmal fonts*. Now *this ceremony* is ſo notoriouſly and directly tranſmitted to them from *Paganiſm*, that their *own writers* make not the leaſt ſcruple to own it. The *Jeſuit la Cerda*, in his notes on a paſſage of *Virgil*, where this practice is mentioned, ſays, *Hence was derived the cuſtom of holy Church, to provide purifying or holy water at the entrance of their Churches* [*p*]. *Aquaminarium* or *Amula*, ſays the *learned Montfaucon*, was a *vaſe of holy water, placed by the Heathens at the entrance of their Temples, to ſprinkle themſelves with* [*q*]. The ſame veſſel was by the *Greeks* called Περιῤῥαντήριον; two of which, the one of *gold*, the other of *ſilver*, were given by *Cræſus* to the *Temple of* Apollo *at* Delphi [*r*]: and the cuſtom of *ſprinkling* themſelves was ſo neceſſary a part of all their religious offices, that the method of excommunication ſeems to have been by prohibiting to offenders the approach and uſe of the *holy-water pot* [*s*]. The very compoſition of this *holy-water* was the ſame alſo among the *Heathens*, as it is now among the *Papiſts*, being nothing more than a *mixture of*

[*p*] *Spargens rore levi*, &c. Virg. Æn. vi. 230. vid. Not.
[*q*] Vid. Montfauc. Antiquit. t. ii. P. i. l. iii. c. 6.

καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις
Ἀφυδρανάμενοι τείχεῖα ναὸς. Eurip. Ione, v. 96.

[*r*] Herodot. l. i. 51. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.
[*s*] Vid. Æſchin. Orat. contra Cteſiphon. 58.

ſalt

ſalt with common water [*t*]: and the form of the *ſprinkling-bruſh*, called by the ancients *aſperſorium* or *aſpergillum* (which is much the ſame with what the *prieſts* now make uſe of) may be ſeen in *bas-reliefs*, or *ancient coins*, wherever the *inſignia*, or *emblems of the* Pagan *prieſthood* are deſcribed, of which it is generally one [*u*].

Platina, in his lives of *the Popes*, and other authors, aſcribe the inſtitution of this *holy-water* to *Pope Alexander the firſt*; who is ſaid to have lived about the year of *Chriſt* 113: but it could not be introduced ſo early, ſince, for ſome ages after, we find the *primitive fathers* ſpeaking of it, as a cuſtom purely *heatheniſh*, and condemning it as *impious* and *deteſtable*. *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, "That it was invented by dæmons, in "imitation of the true baptiſm ſignified by the "Prophets, that their votaries might alſo have "their pretended purifications by water [*x*]:" and the Emperor *Julian*, out of ſpite to the *Chriſtians*, uſed to order the victuals in the mar-

[*t*] Porro ſingulis diebus Dominicis ſacerdos Miſſæ ſacrum facturus, aquam ſale adſperſam benedicendo revocare debet, eaque populum adſpergere. Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 21.

ἔπειλα δ' ἅλεσσι μεμιγμένον, ὡς νενόμισται,
Θαλλῷ ἐπιῤῥαίνειν ἐστέμμενον ἀβλαβὲς ὕδωρ. Theocrit. εἰδ. 95.

[*u*] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. P. i. l. iii. c. 6. *It may be ſeen on a ſilver coin of* Julius Cæſar, *as well as many other Emperors.* Ant. Agoſtini diſcorſo ſopra le Medaglie.

[*x*] Καὶ τὸ λεῖρον δὴ τοῦτο ἀκάθαρτος οἱ Δαίμονες διὰ τῆς προφήτου κεκηρυγμένον, ἐνήγησαν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐαυτὰς εἰς τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν ἐπισκαίνους. Juſt. Mart. Apol. i. p. 91. Edit. Thirlb.

kets to be *ſprinkled with holy-water*, on purpoſe either to ſtarve, or force them to eat, what by their own principles they eſteemed polluted [*y*].

Thus we ſee what contrary notions the *Primitive* and *Romiſh Church have of this ceremony:* The firſt condemns it as *ſuperſtitious*, *abominable*, and *irreconcileable* with *Chriſtianity*; the latter adopts it as highly *edifying* and *applicable* to the improvement of *Chriſtian piety:* the one looks upon it as the *contrivance of the Devil to delude mankind*; the other as the *ſecurity of mankind* againſt the *deluſions of the devil.* But what is ſtill more ridiculous than even the *ceremony itſelf*, is to ſee their learned writers gravely reckoning up the ſeveral virtues and benefits, derived from the uſe of it, both to the ſoul and the body [*z*]; and to crown all, producing a long *roll of miracles*, to atteſt the certainty of each virtue, which they aſcribe to it [*a*]. Why may we not then juſtly apply to the *preſent people of Rome*, what was ſaid by the *Poet* of it's *old inhabitants* for the uſe of *this very ceremony?*

Ah nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli poſſe putetis aquâ!
Ovid. Faſt. ii. 45.

Ah, eaſy Fools, to think that a whole Flood
Of water e'er can purge the Stain of Blood!

[*y*] Vid. Hoſpinian. de Orig. Templor. l. ii. c. 25.
[*z*] Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 21. It. Hoſpin. ibid.
[*a*] Hujus aquæ benedictæ virtus variis miraculis illuſtratur, &c. Durant. ibid.

I do

I do not at preſent recollect whether the *ancients* went ſo far, as to apply the uſe of this *holy-water* to the purifying or bleſſing *their horſes, aſſes, and other cattle*; or whether this be an improvement of *modern Rome*, which has dedicated a *yearly feſtival* peculiarly to this ſervice, called, in their vulgar language, the *benediction of horſes*, which is always celebrated with much ſolemnity in the month of *January*; when all the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood ſend up *their horſes, aſſes, &c.* to the *convent* of St. *Anthony*, near St. *Mary the Great*, where a *prieſt in ſurplice* at the Church-door *ſprinkles* with his bruſh all the *animals* ſingly, as they are preſented to him, and receives from each owner a gratuity proportionable to his zeal and ability [*b*]. Amongſt the reſt, I had my own horſes bleſt at the expence of about *eighteen pence* of our money; as well to ſatisfy my own curioſity, as to humour the coachman; who was perſuaded, as the common people generally are, that ſome miſchance would befall them within the year, if they wanted the benefit of this *Benediction*. *Mabillon*, in giving an account of this function, of which he happened alſo to be an eye-witneſs, makes no other re-

[*b*] Ma ogni ſorte d'animali a queſto ſanto ſi raccommanda, e però nel giorno della ſua feſte ſono portate molte offerte a queſta ſua chieſa, in gratitudine delle gratie, che diverſi hanno ottenute da lui ſopra de'loro beſtiami. Rom. modern. Giorn. vi. c. 46. Rione de'Monti.

flection upon it, than that it was *new* and *unuſual* to him [*c*].

I have met indeed with ſome hints of a practice, not foreign to this, among the ancients; of *ſprinkling their horſes with water in the Circenſian Games* [*d*]: but whether this was done out of a *ſuperſtitious view*, of inſpiring any virtue, or purifying them for thoſe races, which were eſteemed ſacred; or merely to refreſh them under the violence of ſuch an exerciſe, is not eaſy to determine. But allowing the *Romiſh Prieſts* to have taken the hint from ſome *old cuſtom of Paganiſm*; yet this however muſt be granted them, that they alone were capable of cultivating ſo coarſe and barren a piece of ſuperſtition, into a revenue ſufficient for the maintenance of *forty or fifty idle Monks*.

No ſooner is a man advanced a little forward into their *Churches*, and begins to look about him, but he will find his eyes and attention attracted by a number of *lamps* and *wax candles*, which are conſtantly burning before the *Shrines* and *Images of their Saints*. In all *the great Churches*,

[*c*] In Feſto Sancti Antonii prope S. Mariam Majorem, ritus nobis inſolitus viſus eſt, ut quicquid equorum eſt in urbe ducantur cum ſuis phaleris ad portam eccleſiæ, ubi aqua luſtrali ab uno e patribus omnes & ſinguli aſpergunſur, dato annuo cenſu. Mabill. It. Ital. p. 136.

[*d*] Vid. Rubenii Elect. ii. 18.

of

of Italy, ſays *Mabillon* [*e*], *they hang up lamps at every altar:* a ſight, which will not only ſurprize a ſtranger by the novelty of it, but will furniſh him with another proof and example of the *conformity of the Romiſh with the Pagan worſhip*; by recalling to his memory many paſſages of the *Heathen Writers*, where their *perpetual lamps* and *candles* are deſcribed as continually burning before the *altars* and *ſtatues of their Deities* [*f*].

Herodotus tells us of the *Ægyptians*, (who firſt introduced the uſe of *lights* or *lamps* into their temples) [*g*] that they had a *famous yearly feſtival*, called, from the *principal ceremony* of it, the *lighting up of candels* [*h*]: but there's ſcarce a *ſingle feſtival at Rome*, which might not for the ſame reaſon be called by the ſame name.

The *primitive writers* frequently expoſe the folly and abſurdity of this *heatheniſh cuſtom* [*i*]:

[*e*] Ad ſingulas eccleſiæ aras (qui ritus in omnibus Italiæ Baſilicis obſervatur) ſingulæ appenſæ ſunt Lampades. Mabil. It. Ital. p. 25.

[*f*] Placuere & Lychnuchi penſiles in delubris.
Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xxxiv. 3.
Vidi Cupidinem argenteum cum Lampade.
Cic. in Verr. ii.
Centum aras poſuit, vigilemque ſacraverat ignem.
Virg. Æn. iv. 200.

[*g*] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. c. 16.

[*h*] Καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἔνομα κέεται λυχνοκαίη.
Herod. l. ii. 62. Edit. Lond.

[*i*] Hoſpin. de Orig. Templor. l. ii. 22.

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they *light up candles to God*, ſays *Lactantius*, *as if he lived in the dark: and do not they deſerve to paſs for madmen, who offer lamps to the Author and Giver of Light?*

In the collections of *old inſcriptions*, we find many inſtances of preſents and donations from private perſons, of *lamps and candleſticks* to the *temples and altars of their gods* [*k*]: a piece of zeal, which continues ſtill the ſame in modern *Rome*; where each Church abounds with *lamps of maſſy ſilver*, and ſometimes even of *gold*: the *gifts of Princes*, and other perſons of diſtinction: and it is ſurprizing to ſee, how great a number of this kind are perpetually burning before the *altars* of their *principal Saints*, or *miraculous Images*; as St. *Anthony of Padua*, or the *Lady of Loretto*; as well as the vaſt profuſion of *wax candles*, with which their Churches are illuminated on every great feſtival: when the *high altar*, covered with *gold and ſilver plate*, brought out of their treaſuries, and ſtuck full of *wax lights*, diſpoſed in beautiful figures, looks more like the rich *ſide-board of ſome great Prince*, dreſſed out for a feaſt, than *an altar* to pay divine worſhip at.

But a ſtranger will not be more ſurprized at the number of *lamps* or *wax lights*, burning before their *altars*, than at the number of *offerings*,

[*k*] CUPIDINES II. CVM SVIS LYCHNVCHIS ET LVCERN. Grut. Inſc. clxxvii. 3.

or

or *votive gifts*, which are hanging all around them, in conſequence of *vows*, made in the time of danger; and in gratitude for deliverances and cures, wrought in ſickneſs or diſtreſs: a practice ſo common among the *Heathens*, that no one *cuſtom of antiquity* is ſo frequently mentioned by all their writers; and many of their *original donaria* or *votive offerings* are preſerved to this day in the *cabinets of the curious*, viz. *images of metal*, *ſtone*, or *clay*, as well as *legs*, *arms*, and other *parts of the body*, which had formerly been hung up in their *temples*, in teſtimony of ſome divine favor or cure effected by their *tutelar deity* in that particular member [*l*]: but the moſt common of all *offerings* were *pictures*, repreſenting the hiſtory of the miraculous cure or deliverance, vouchſafed upon the vow of the donor.

Nunc, dea, nunc ſuccure mihi; nam poſſe mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.
Tibul. El. i. 3.

Now, goddeſs, help, for thou canſt help beſtow,
As all theſe pictures round thy altars ſhow.

A friend of *Diagorus the philoſopher*, called the *Atheiſt*, having found him once in a *temple*, as the ſtory is told by *Cicero* [*m*], *You*, ſays he,

[*l*] Vid. Montfauc. Antiquit. t. ii. Par. 1. l. iv. c. 4, 5, 6.

[*m*] Cic. Nat. Deor. l. iii. 253.

who think the Gods take no notice of human affairs, do not you ſee here *by this number of pictures, how many people, for the ſake of their vows, have been ſaved in ſtorms at ſea, and got ſafe into harbour? Yes*, ſays *Diagoras, I ſee how it is; for thoſe are never painted, who happen to be drowned.* The *temples of Æſculapius* were more eſpecially rich in theſe offerings, which *Livy* ſays, were the *price* and *pay for the cures, that he had wrought for the ſick* [*n*]: where they uſed always to hang up, and expoſe to common view, in tables of braſs or marble, a catalogue of all the *miraculous cures*, which he had performed for his votaries [*o*]: a remarkable fragment of one of theſe tables is ſtill remaining and publiſhed in *Gruter's* [*p*] *Collections*, having been found in the ruins of a *temple of that God*, in the *iſland of the Tiber* at *Rome:* upon which the *learned Montfaucon* makes this reflection; that in it are either ſeen the *wiles of the Devil, to deceive the credulous; or elſe the tricks of Pagan Prieſts, ſuborning men to counterfeit diſeaſes and miraculous cures* [*q*].

[*n*] Tum donis dives erat, quæ remediorum ſalutarium ægri mercedem ſacraverant Deo. Liv. l. xlv. 28.

[*o*] Τὸ ἱερὸν πλῆρες ἔχοντος ἀεὶ τῶν τε καμνόντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινάκων, ἐν οἷς ἀναγεγραμμέναι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ θεραπεῖαι. Strabo, t. i. 515.

[*p*] Gruter. Inſcript. p. 71.
Et Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. p. 1. l. iv. c. 6.

[*q*] Ibid.

Now

Now this piece of ſuperſtition had been found of old ſo beneficial to the *Prieſthood*, that it could not fail of being taken into the ſcheme of the *Romiſh Worſhip*: where it reigns at this day in as full height and vigor, as in the *ages of Pagan Idolatry*; and in ſo groſs a manner, as to give ſcandal and offence even to ſome of their own communion. *Polydore Vergil*, after having deſcribed this practice of the ancients, "in the "ſame manner, *ſays he*, do we now offer up in "our Churches little images of wax; and as oft "as any part of the body is hurt, as the hand "or foot, *&c.* we preſently make a vow to "God, or one of his Saints, to whom upon "our recovery we make an offering of that "hand or foot in wax: which cuſtom is now "come to that extravagance, that we do the "ſame thing for our cattle, which we do for "ourſelves, and make offerings on account of "our oxen, horſes, ſheep; where a ſcrupulous "man will queſtion, whether in this we imi-"tate the religion or the ſuperſtition of our "anceſtors [*r*]."

The *altar of* St. Phillip Neri, ſays *Baronius* [*s*], "ſhines with votive pictures and "images,

[*r*] Pol. Verg. de Inv. Rer. l. v. 1.

[*s*] Baron. Ann. i. An. 57. n. 162. It. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. i. c. 30. it. l. vi. 27.

This *Philip Neri* is a Saint in high eſteem in all parts of *Italy*, where he has many Churches dedicated to him: he was

" images, the proofs of as many miracles; re-
" ceiving every day the additional luſter of
" freſh offerings from thoſe, who have been
" favored with freſh benefits:" amongſt whom the preſent *Pope* himſelf pays, as I have been told, a yearly acknowledgment, for a miraculous deliverance, that he obtained by the invocation of *this Saint*, when he had like to have periſhed under the ruins of a houſe, overturned in an earthquake.

There is commonly ſo great a number of theſe *offerings* hanging up in their *Churches*, that, inſtead of adding any beauty, they often give offence, by covering or obſtructing the ſight of

was founder of the congregation of the oratory, and died about a century and half ago: his body lies under his altar, with the following inſcription, in a fine Church called *Chieſa Nuova*, which was founded and built for the ſervice of his congregation; where we ſee his picture by *Guido*, and his ſtatue by *Algardi*. Cardinal *Baronius*, who was one of his diſciples, lies buried too in the ſame Church.

CORPVS
S. PHILIPPI NERII CONGR. ORATORII
FVNDATORIS
AB IPSO DORMITIONIS DIE ANNOS
QVATVOR ET QVADRAGINTA
INCORRVPTVM DIVINA
VIRTVTE SERVATVM OCVLIS FIDELIVM
EXPOSITVM A DILECTIS IN CHRISTO
FILIIS SVB EIVSDEM S. PATRIS ALTARI
PERPETVAE SEPVLTVRAE MORE MAIORVM
COMMENDATVM EST
ANNO SALVTIS M.DC.XXXVIII.

ſome-

ſomething more valuable and ornamental; which we find to have been the caſe likewiſe in the *old heathen temples*; where the *Prieſts* were obliged ſometimes to take them down, for the obſtruction, which they gave to the beauty of a fine pillar or altar [*t*]. For they conſiſt chiefly, as has been ſaid, of *arms* and *legs*, and little *figures* of *wood* or *wax*, but eſpecially *pieces of board* painted, and ſometimes indeed *fine pictures*, deſcribing the manner of the deliverance obtained by the *miraculous interpoſition of the Saint* invoked: of which *offerings*, the *bleſſed Virgin* is ſo ſure always to carry off the greateſt ſhare, that it may truly be ſaid of her, what *Juvenal* ſays of the *Goddeſs Iſis*, whoſe religion was at that time in the greateſt vogue at *Rome*, that the *painters get their livelihood out of her.*

Pictores quis neſcit ab Iſide paſci?

As once to *Iſis*, now it may be ſaid,
That Painters to the *Virgin* owe their Bread.

As oft as I have had the curioſity to look over theſe *Donaria*, or *votive Offerings*, hanging round the *Shrines of their Images*, and conſider the ſeveral ſtories of each, as they are either expreſſed in painting, or related in writing, I have always found them to be *mere copies*, or *verbal tranſlations* of the *originals of Heatheniſm*: for

[*t*] Ab his columnis, quæ incommodè oppoſita videbantur, ſigna amovit, &c. Liv. l. xl. 51.

the

the *vow* is often ſaid to have been *divinely inſpired*, or *expreſsly commanded*; and the cure and deliverance to have been wrought, either by the *viſible apparition, and immediate hand of the tutelar Saint*, or by the notice of a *dream*, or ſome other *miraculous admonition* from heaven. "There can be no doubt, *ſay their Writers* [*u*], "but that the Images of our Saints often work "ſignal miracles, by procuring health to the "infirm, and appearing to us often in dreams, "to ſuggeſt ſomething of great moment for our "ſervice."

And what is all this, but a revival of the *old impoſtures*, and a repetition of the ſame *old ſtories*, of which the *ancient inſcriptions* are full [*w*], with

[*u*] Extra omnem controverſiam eſt, Sanctorum Imagines mirifica deſignare miracula, ut & debilibus valetudo bona per eos concilietur, ſæpeque in ſomniis apparentes optima quæque nobis conſulant. Durant de Ritib. l. i. c. 5.

[*w*] SILVANO SALVTARI
L. MANLIVS SATVRNINVS
EX VISO POSVIT.
Gruter. p. 65.
MINERVAE. MEMORI
CAELIA IVLIANA.
INDVLGENTIA. MEDICINARVM
EIVS. GRAVI. INFIRMITATE.
LIBERATA. D. P.
48.

SILVANO

with no other difference, than what the *Pagans* aſcribed to the imaginary help of *their Deities*, the *Papiſts* as fooliſhly impute to the favor of *their Saints?* As may be ſeen by the few inſtances, that I have ſubjoined, out of the great plenty, which all *books of antiquities* will furniſh: and whether the reflection of *Father Montfaucon* on the *Pagan Prieſts*, mentioned above, be not, in the very ſame caſe, as juſtly applicable to the *Romiſh Prieſts*, I muſt leave to the judgment of my Reader.

But the gifts and offerings of the kind, that I have been ſpeaking of, are the fruits onely of vulgar zeal, and the preſents of inferior people; whilſt princes and great perſons, as it uſed to be

SILVANO
&c.
SOMNIO MONITA.
ib. 62.
IOVI OPT. &c.
FLAVIVS COSMVS
IVSSV DEI FECIT.
20.

And that this is the ſtile alſo of votive Inſcriptions among the *Papiſts*, we ſee by the following one in a Church at *Milan*.

DIVAE. SAVINAE, &c.
LIVIA. EVPHEMIA. IN
ACERBO. STOMACHI.
CRVCITATV. OPEM. NACTA.
V. S. M. D. XI.

of

of old, [x] frequently make *offerings* of large *veſſels*, *lamps*, and even *ſtatues* of *maſſy ſilver* or *gold*; with *diamonds*, and all ſorts of *precious ſtones* of incredible value; ſo that the *Church of Loretto* is now become a *Proverb* for its riches of this ſort, juſt as *Apollo's Temple at Delphi* was with the ancients on the ſame account.

Οὐδ' ὅσα λαΐνῳ ἐδὸς ἀφήτορι ἐντὸς ἐέργει
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος. Il. ι. 404.

Nor all the wealth *Apollo's* Temple holds
Can purchaſe one day's life, &c.

In the famed treaſury of this *Holy Houſe*; one part conſiſts, as it did likewiſe among the *Heathens*, of a *wardrobe*. For the *very Idols*, as *Tertullian* obſerves, *uſed to be dreſſed out in curious robes*, of the choiceſt ſtuffs and faſhion [y]. While they were ſhewing us therefore the great variety of rich habits, with which that treaſury abounds; ſome covered with *precious ſtones*, others more curiouſly embroidered by ſuch a *Queen*, or *Princeſs*, for the uſe of the *miraculous Image*; I could not help recollecting the picture which *old Homer* draws of *Queen Hecuba of Troy*, proſtrating herſelf before the *miraculous Image of Pallas*, with

[x] Conſul Apollini, Æſculapio, Saluti dona vovere, & dare ſigna inaurata juſſus: quæ vovit, deditque. Liv. l. xl. 37.

[y] Cum ipſis etiam Idolis induantur prætextæ & trabeæ, &c. De Idololat. p. 116. Edit. Rigalt.

à preſent

a preſent of the *richeſt and beſt wrought gown*, that ſhe was miſtreſs of.

Τῶν ἓν ἀειραμένη Ἑκάβη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνῃ,
Ὅς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἠδὲ μέγιστος·
Ἀστὴρ δ' ὡς ἀπέλαμπε, &c. Il. ζ. 293.

A gown ſhe choſe, the beſt and nobleſt far,
Sparkling with rich embroid'ry, like a ſtar, *&c.*

The mention of *Loretto* puts me in mind of the ſurprize, that I was in, at the firſt ſight of the *holy Image:* for it's face is as black as a *Negro's*; ſo that one would take it rather for the repreſentation of a *Proſerpine*, or *infernal Deity*, than, what they impiouſly ſtile it, of the *Queen of Heaven*. But I ſoon recollected, that this very circumſtance of it's complexion, made it but reſemble the more exactly the *old Idols of Paganiſm*, which, in *ſacred* as well as *profane Writers*, are deſcribed to be *black with the perpetual ſmoak of lamps and incenſe* [z].

When a man is once engaged in reflections of this kind, imagining himſelf in ſome *Heathen Temple*, and expecting as it were ſome *ſacrifice*, or other *piece of Paganiſm* to enſue, he will not be long in ſuſpence, before he ſees the finiſhing act and laſt ſcene of *genuin Idolatry*, in crouds of bigot votaries, proſtrating themſelves before ſome *Image* of *wood or ſtone*, and paying divine

[z] Baruch. vi. 19, 21. Arnob. l. vi.

honors to *an Idol* of their own erecting. Should they ſquabble with us here about the meaning of the word, *Idol*, St. *Jerom* has determined it to the very caſe in queſtion, telling us, that by *Idols are to be underſtood the Images of the Dead* [*a*]: and the *worſhippers of ſuch Images* are uſed always in the *ſtile of the Fathers*, as terms ſynonymous and equivalent to *Heathens* or *Pagans* [*b*].

As to the practice itſelf, it was condemned by many of the wiſeſt Heathens, and for ſeveral ages, even in *Pagan Rome*, was thought impious and deteſtable: for *Numa*, we find, prohibited it to the *old Romans*, nor would ſuffer any *Images* in their *Temples:* which conſtitution they obſerved religiouſly, ſays *Plutarch* [*c*], for the firſt *hundred and ſeventy years of the City*. But as *Image worſhip* was thought abominable even by ſome *Pagan Princes*, ſo by ſome of the *Chriſtian Emperors* it was forbidden on pain of death [*d*]: not becauſe theſe *Images* were the repreſentations of *Dæmons*, or *falſe Gods*, but

[*a*] Idola intelligimus Imagines mortuorum. Hier. Com. in Iſa. c. xxxvii.

[*b*] Innumeri ſunt in Græcia exteriſque nationibus, qui ſe in diſcipulatum Chriſti tradiderunt, non ſine ingenti odio eorum qui ſimulacra venerantur. Pamphili Apol. pro Orig. vid. Hieron. Op. tom. v. p. 233. Ed. Par.

[*c*] Vid. Plutar. in Vit. Num. p. 65. C.

[*d*] Pœnæ capitis ſubjugari præcipimus, quos ſimulacra colere conſtiterit. Vid. Gothof. Comment. de ſtatu Pagan. ſub Chriſtian. Imperatorib. Leg. vi. p. 7.

becauſe

because they were *vain ſenſeleſs Idols*, the *work of men's hands*, and for that reaſon unworthy of any honor: and all the inſtances and over-acts of ſuch worſhip, deſcribed condemned by them, are exactly the ſame with what the *Papiſts* practiſe at this day, viz. *lighting up candles*; *burning incenſe*; *hanging up garlands*, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the *law of Theodoſius* before-mentioned; which confiſcates that *houſe or land*, *where any ſuch act of* Gentile *ſuperſtition had been committed* [*e*]. Theſe Princes, who were influenced, we may ſuppoſe, in their conſtitutions of this ſort, by the advice of their biſhops, did not think *Paganiſm* aboliſhed, till the *adoration of Images* was utterly extirpated; which was reckoned always the *principal* of thoſe *Gentile Rites*, that, agreeably to the ſenſe of the *pureſt ages of Chriſtianity*, are never mentioned in the *imperial laws*, without the epithets of *prophane*, *damnable*, *impious*, *&c.* [*f*].

What opinion then can we have of the preſent practice of the *Church of Rome*, but that by a change onely of *name*, they have found means to retain the *thing*; and by ſubſtituting *their Saints* in the place of *the old Demigods*, have but

[*e*] In nulla urbe ſenſu carentibus ſimulacris, vel accendat lumina, imponat thura, ſerta ſuſpendat:

Si quis vero mortali opere facta, & ævum paſſura ſimulacra impoſito thure venerabitur — is utpote violatæ religionis reus, ea domo ſeu poſſeſſione multabitur, in qua eum conſtiterit gentilitia ſuperſtitione famulatum. Ibid. Leg. xii. p. 15.

[*f*] Ibid. Leg. xvii. 20.

ſet up *Idols of their own*, inſtead of thoſe of their *Forefathers?* In which it is hard to ſay, whether their aſſurance, or their addreſs is more to be admired, who have the face to make that the principal part of *Chriſtian worſhip*, which the *firſt Chriſtians* looked upon as the moſt criminal part even of *Paganiſm*, and have found means to extract gain and great revenues out of a practice, which in *primitive times* would have coſt a man both life and eſtate.

But our notion of the *Idolatry* of *modern Rome* will be much heightened ſtill and confirmed, as oft as we follow them into thoſe *Temples*, and to thoſe very *Altars*, which were built originally by *their Heathen anceſtors*, the *old Romans*, to the honor of their *Pagan Deities*; where we ſhall hardly ſee any other alteration, than the *ſhrine* of ſome *old Hero* filled by the meaner ſtatue of ſome *modern Saint:* nay, they have not always, as I am well informed, given themſelves the trouble of making even this change, but have been content ſometimes to take up with the *old Image*, juſt as they found it; after *baptizing* it onely, as it were, or conſecrating it anew, by the impoſition of a *Chriſtian name*. This *their antiquaries* do not ſcruple to put ſtrangers in mind of, in ſhewing their *Churches*; and it was, I think, in that of St. *Agnes*, where they ſhewed me an *antique ſtatue* of a *young Bacchus*, which with a new name, and ſome little change of drapery, ſtands now worſhipped under the title of a *female Saint*.

Tully

Tully reproaches *Clodius*, for having publicly *dedicated the ſtatue of a common ſtrumpet*, under the name and title of the *Goddeſs Liberty*: a practice, ſtill frequent with the *preſent Romans*, who have ſcarce a fine *image* or *picture* of a *female Saint*, which is not ſaid to have been deſigned originally by the *ſculptor* or *painter*, for the repreſentation of his own *miſtreſs*: and *who dares*, may we ſay ironically with the old *Roman* [*g*], *to violate ſuch a Goddeſs at this*; *the ſtatue of a whore?*

The nobleſt *Heathen Temple* now remaining in the world, is the *Pantheon* or *Rotunda*; which, as the inſcription [*b*] over *the portico* informs us, having been *impiouſly dedicated of old by* Agrippa *to* Jove *and all the Gods*, *was piouſly reconſecrated by Pope* Boniface *the fourth*, *to the bleſſed Virgin and all the Saints*. With this ſingle alteration, it ſerves as exactly for all the purpoſes of the *Popiſh*, as it did for the *Pagan worſhip*, for which it was built. For as in the *old Temple*,

[*g*] Hanc Deam quiſquam violare audeat, imaginem meretricis? Cic. pro Dom. 43.

[*b*] PANTHEON, &c.
Ab Agrippa Auguſti Genero
Impie Jovi, Cæteriſq; Mendacibus Diis
A Bonifacio IIII. Pontifice
Deiparæ & S. S. Chriſti Martyribus Pie
Dicatum,
&c.

every one might find *the God* of his country, and addreſs himſelf to that *Deity* whoſe religion he was moſt devoted to; ſo it is the ſame thing now; every one chuſes the *Patron* whom he likes beſt; and one may ſee here *different ſervices*, going on at the ſame time at *different altars*, with diſtinct congregations around them, juſt as the inclinations of the people lead them, to the worſhip of this or that particular *Saint*.

And what better title can the *new Demigods* ſhew, to the adoration now paid to them, than the *old ones*, whoſe ſhrines they have uſurped? Or how comes it to be leſs criminal to *worſhip Images*, erected by the *Pope*, than thoſe which *Agrippa*, or that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* ſet up? If there be any real difference, moſt People, I dare ſay, will be apt to determine in favor of the *old poſſeſſors*: for thoſe *heroes of antiquity* were raiſed up into *Gods*, and received *divine honors*, for ſome *ſignal benefits*, of which they had been the *authors* to mankind; as the *invention of arts and ſciences*; or of ſomething highly uſeful and neceſſary to life [*i*]: whereas of the *Romiſh Saints*, it is certain, that many of them were never heard of, but in their own *legends or fabulous hiſtories*; and many more, inſtead of

[*i*] Suſcepit autem vita hominum, conſuetudoque communis, ut beneficio excellentes viros in cœlum fama, & voluntate tollerent, &c. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii. 223.

Imitantem Herculem illum, quem hominum fama, beneficiorum memor, in concilium cœleſtium collocavit. Off. iii. 299.

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any ſervices done to mankind, owe all the honors now paid to them, to their *vices* or their *errors*; whoſe merit, like *that of* Demetrius *in the Acts* [*k*], was their ſkill of raiſing rebellions in defence of *an Idol*, and throwing kingdoms into convulſions, for the ſake of ſome *gainful impoſture*.

And as it is in the *Pantheon*, it is juſt the ſame in all the other *Heathen Temples*, that ſtill remain in *Rome*; they have only pulled down *one Idol* to ſet up *another*; and changed rather the name, than the object of their worſhip. Thus the little *Temple of Veſta*, near the *Tiber*, mentioned by *Horace* [*l*], is now poſſeſſed by the *Madonna of the Sun*; [*m*] that of *Fortuna Virilis*, by *Mary the Egyptian*; [*n*] that of *Saturn*, [*o*] (where the public treaſure was anciently kept) by St. *Adrian*; that of *Romulus and Remus* in the *Via Sacra*, by two other brothers, *Coſmas* and *Damianus*; [*p*] that of *Antonine the Godly*, by *Laurence the Saint* [*q*]: but

[*k*] Act. Apoſt. xix. 23.
[*l*] Carm. L. i. 2.
[*m*] Rom. Mod. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa. v.
[*n*] Ibid. iv.
[*o*] Ib. Gior. v. Rione di Campitelli, xv.
[*p*] Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Templum Geminis
Urbis Conditoribus ſuperſtitioſè dicatum
A Felice IIII. S. S. Coſmæ & Damiano Fratribus
Piè conſecratum, vetuſtate labefactatum
In ſplendidiorem formam redegit
Ann. Sal. M.DC.XXXIII.
[*q*] Ibid. xvi.

for my part, I ſhould ſooner be tempted, to proſtrate myſelf before the ſtatue of a *Romulus* or an *Antonine*, than that of *Laurence* or a *Damian*; and give *divine honors* rather, with *Pagan Rome*, to the *founders of empires*, than with *Popiſh Rome*, to the *founders of Monaſteries*.

At the foot of *Mount Palatin*, in the way between the *Forum* of *Circus Maximus*, on the very ſpot, where *Romulus* was believed to have been ſuckled by the wolf, there ſtands another little round *Temple*, dedicated to him in the early times of the republic, into which, for the preſent elevation of the ſoil without, we now deſcend by a great number of ſteps. It is mentioned by *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, who ſays, that in his time there ſtood in it *a brazen ſtatue of antique work, of the wolf giving ſuck to the infant Brethers* [*r*]; which is thought by many to be the ſame, which is ſtill preſerved and ſhewn in the Capitol; though I take this rather, which now remains, to have been another of the ſame kind, that ſtood originally in the Capitol, and is mentioned by *Cicero* to have been there ſtruck with lightning [*s*]; of which it retains to this day the evident marks in one of

[*r*] Καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν ἔνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται τῆ πάλαι, λύκαινα παιδίοις δυσὶ τὰς μαστὰς ἐπέχουσα, χάλκεα ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐρgασίας. Dion. Hal. l. i. 64. Edit. Hudſon.

[*s*] Tactus eſt etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuiſſe meminiſtis. Orat. in Catil. iii. 4.

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it's hinder legs: it is however to one or the other of theſe celebrated ſtatues, that *Virgil*, as *Servius* aſſures us, alludes in that elegant deſcription:

——— *Geminos huic ubera circum*
Ludere pendentes pueros & lambere matrem
Impavidos: Illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, & fingere corpora linguâ.
Æn. viii. 631.

The martial twins beneath their mother lay,
And hanging on her dugs, with wanton play,
Securely ſuck'd; whilſt ſhe reclines her head
To lick their tender limbs, and form them as they fed.

But to return to my ſtory: from the tradition of the wonderful eſcape, which *Romulus* had in this very place, when expoſed in his infancy to periſh in the *Tiber*; as ſoon as he came to be a God, he was looked upon as ſingularly propitious to the health and ſafety of young children: from which notion, it became a practice for nurſes and mothers, to preſent their *ſickly infants* before his ſhrine in this little *Temple*, [*t*], in confidence of a cure or relief by his favor: now when this *Temple* was converted afterwards

[*t*] A queſto Tempio dedicato à Romolo portarano le Donne Romane ad offerir i loro figliuolini, quando pativano di qualche infirmità; e perche queſta uſanza andavano ſeguitando l'iſtiſſe ancora fatte Chriſtiane, &c. Rom. Moderna, Giornato 2da. c. xxxvi. Rione di Ripa.

into a *Church*; leſt any piece of ſuperſtition ſhould be loſt, or the people think themſelves ſufferers by the change, in loſing the benefit of ſuch a protection for their children: care was taken to find out in the place of the *Heathen God*, a *Chriſtian Saint*, who had been expoſed too in his infancy, and found by chance like *Romulus*; and for the ſame reaſon, might be preſumed to be juſt as fond of children, as their *old Deity* had been: thus the worſhip paid to *Romulus*, being now transferred to *Theodorus*, the old ſuperſtition ſtill ſubſiſts, and the cuſtom of preſenting children at *this ſhrine* continues to this day without Intermiſſion; of which I myſelf have been a witneſs, having ſeen, as oft as I looked into *this Church*, ten or a dozen women decently dreſſed, each with *a child* in her lap, ſitting with ſilent reverence before the *altar of the Saint*, in expectation of his *miraculous influence* on the health of the infant.

In conſecrating theſe *Heathen Temples* to the Popiſh worſhip, that the change might be the leſs offenſive, and the *old ſuperſtition* as little ſhocked as poſſible, they generally obſerved ſome reſemblance of quality and character in the *Saint*, whom they ſubſtituted to the *old Deity*: "If in converting the profane worſhip of "the *Gentiles* (ſays the *Deſcriber of modern* "Rome [*u*]) to the pure and ſacred worſhip "of

[*u*] Si nel revoltare il profano culto de Gentili nel ſacro e vero, oſſervarono i fedeli qualche proportione, qui la ritrovarono

" of the Church, the faithful uſe to follow ſome " uſe and proportion, they have certainly hit " upon it here, in dedicating to the *Madonna*, " or *holy Virgin*, the Temple formerly ſacred " to the *Bona Dea*, or good Goddeſs." But they have more frequently on theſe occaſions had regard rather to a *ſimilitude of name* between the *old* and *new Idol*. Thus in a place formerly ſacred to *Apollo*, there now ſtands the *Church of Apollinaris*; built there, as they tell us, [*x*] that the *profane name of that Deity*, might be converted into the *glorious name of this Martyr*: and where there anciently ſtood a *Temple of Mars*, they have erected a *Church to Martina*, with this inſcription:

Martyrii geſtans virgo Martina coronam,
Ejecto hinc Martis numine, Templa tenet.

Mars hence expell'd; *Martina*, martyr'd maid,
Claims now the worſhip, which to him was paid,

In another place, I have taken notice of *an Altar* erected to St. *Baccho* [*y*]; and in their

trovarono aſſai conveniente nel dedicare à Maria Vergine un Tempio, ch'era della bona dea — Rom. Mod. Gior. ii. Rion. di Ripa x.

[*x*] La Chieſa di S. Apollinari fu fabbricata in queſto luogo d'Chriſtiani; affinche il profano nome d'Apolline fuſſe convertito nel ſanto nome di queſto glorioſo Martire. Ibid. Gio. iii. 21.

[*y*] Ibid. Gior. vi. 37.

ſtories

ſtories of their *Saints*, have obſerved the names of *Quirinus*, *Romula & Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius* [z]: which, though they may, for any thing that I know, have been the genuin names of *Chriſtian Martyrs*, yet cannot but give occaſion to ſuſpect, that ſome of them at leaſt have been formed out of a corruption of the *old names*; and that the adding of a modern termination, or *Italianizing* the *old name* of a *Deity*, has given exiſtence to ſome of their preſent *Saints:* thus the corruption of the word *Soracte* (the old name of a mountain mentioned by *Horace* [a] in ſight of *Rome*) has, according to Mr. *Addiſon*, added one Saint to the *Roman Calendar*; being now ſoftened, [b] *becauſe it begins with an S*, into *St. Oraſte*; in whoſe honor a monaſtery is founded on the place: a change very natural, if we conſider that the *title of Saint* is never written by the *Italians* at length, but expreſſed commonly by the ſingle letter *S.* as *S. Oracte:* and thus this *holy mountain* ſtands now under the protection of a *Patron*, whoſe being and power is juſt as imaginary, as that of it's old guardian *Apollo:*

Sancti cuſtos Soractis Apollo. Virg. Æn. ix.

No ſuſpicion of this kind will appear extravagant to thoſe, who are at all acquainted with

[z] Aringh. Rom. Subter. l. ii. 21. l. iii. 12. l. iv. 16, 22. l. v. 4.

[a] Carm. l. i. 9.

[b] *Addiſon*'s Travels from *Peſaro*, &c. to *Rome*.

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the *Hiſtory of Popery*; which abounds with inſtances of the groſſeſt forgeries both of *Saints* and *Reliques*, which, to the ſcandal of many even among themſelves [*c*], have been impoſed for genuin on the poor ignorant people. It is certain, that in the earlier ages of Chriſtianity, the *Chriſtians* often made free with the *ſepulchral ſtones of Heathen monuments*, which being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own uſe; and turning downwards the ſide, on which the *old epitaph* was engraved, uſed either to inſcribe a new one on the other ſide, or leave it perhaps without any *inſcription* at all, as they are often found in the *Catacombs of Rome* [*d*]. Now this one cuſtom has frequently been the occaſion of aſcribing *Martyrdom* and *Saintſhip* to perſons and names of mere *Pagans*.

Mabillon gives a remarkable inſtance of it in an *old ſtone*, found on the grave of a *Chriſtian* with this inſcription [*e*],

D. M.
IVLIA EVODIA
FILIA FECIT
MATRI.

[*c*] Utinam hanc religionem imitarentur, qui ſanctorum recens abſque certis nominibus inventorum fictas hiſtorias comminiſcuntur ad confuſionem verarum hiſtoriarum, imo & qui Paganorum Inſcriptiones aliquando pro Chriſtianis vulgant, &c. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 225.

[*d*] Ab immanibus enim & pervetuſtis ſuperſtitioſæ urbis conſtructionibus atque ſepulchris ad ſuos obtegendos tumulos Chriſtiani lapides non raro auferre conſueverant. Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. iii. c. 22. [*e*] Vid. Mabill. Ibid.

And becauſe in the ſame grave there was found likewiſe a *glaſs vial*, or *lacrymatory veſſel*, tinged with a reddiſh color, which they call [*f*] *blood*, and look upon as a certain proof of *martyrdom*, this *Julia Evodia*, though undoubtedly a *Heathen*, was preſently adopted both for *Saint* and *Martyr*, on the authority of an *inſcription*, that appears evidently to have been one of thoſe above-mentioned, and borrowed from a *heathen Sepulchre*. But whatever the party there buried might have been, whether *Heathen* or *Chriſtian*; it is certain however, that it could not be *Evodia herſelf*, but her mother only, whoſe name is not there ſignified.

The ſame author mentions ſome *original papers*, which he found in the *Barbarine Library*, giving a pleaſant account of a negociation between the *Spaniards* and *Pope Urban the* VIIIth, in relation to this very ſubject [*g*]. The *Spaniards*, it ſeems, have a *Saint*, held in great reverence in ſome parts of *Spain*, called *Viar*; for the farther encouragement of whoſe worſhip, they ſollicited the *Pope*, to grant ſome *ſpecial indulgencies* to his altars; and upon the *Pope's* deſir-

[*f*] Si forte rubore quodam in imo tincta vitrea ampulla fuerit, pro argumento Martyrii habetur. Mont. Diar. It. p. 118.

[*g*] Alterum notatu dignum, quod Urbanus ab Hiſpanis quibuſdam interpellatus de concedendis indulgentiis ob cultum Sancti, cui nomen VIAR, &c. allatus eſt lapis in quo hæ literæ reliquæ erant S. VIAR, &c. Vid. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 145.

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ing to be better acquainted firſt with his character, and the proofs, which they had of his *ſaintſhip*, they produced *a ſtone* with theſe *antique letters* S. VIAR. which the antiquaries readily ſaw to be a ſmall fragment of ſome *old Roman Inſcription*, in memory of one, who had been *PræfectuS* VIAR*um*, or *overſeer of the high-ways*.

But we have in *England* an inſtance ſtill more ridiculous, of a *fictitious ſaintſhip*, in the caſe of a certain *Saint*, called *Amphibolus*; who, according to our *Monkiſh Hiſtorians*, was *Biſhop of the iſle of* Man, and *fellow Martyr and diſciple of* St. Alban: yet the learned *Biſhop Uſher* has given good reaſons to convince us, that he owes the honor of his *ſaintſhip*, to a miſtaken paſſage in the *old acts* or *legends* of St. *Alban* [*b*]: where the *Amphibolus* mentioned, and ſince reverenced as a *Saint* and *Martyr*, was nothing more than the *cloak*, which *Alban* happened to have at the time of his execution: being a word derived from the *Greek*, and ſignifying a *rough ſhaggy cloak*, which *eccleſiaſtical* perſons uſually wore in that age.

They pretend to ſhew us here at *Rome*, two *original impreſſions* of our *Saviour's Face*, on two different *handkerchiefs*; the one, ſent a preſent

[*b*] Uſſer. de Britan. Eccleſ. primord. c. xiv. p. 539. 4^to^. It. Ep. Lloyd's Hiſtor. Acc. of Ch. in Gr. Brit. c. vii. p. 151.

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by himſelf to *Agbarus Prince of Edeſſa*, who by letter had deſired a picture of him; the other, given by him at the time of his execution, to a *Saint*, or *holy woman* named *Veronica*, upon a *handkerchief*, which ſhe had lent him to wipe his face on that occaſion: both which handkerchiefs are ſtill preſerved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmoſt reverence; the firſt in *St. Silveſter's* Church; the ſecond in *St. Peter's*; where in honor of this *ſacred relique*, there is a fine *altar* built by *Pope Urban the* VIIIth, with the ſtatue of *Veronica* herſelf, with the following inſcription [*i*]:

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICAE
SVDARIO EXCEPTAM
VT LOCI MAIESTAS DECENTER
CVSTODIRET URBANVS VIII.
PONT. MAX.
MARMOREVM SIGNVM
ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIVM
EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT.

But notwithſtanding the authority of *this Pope*, and his *inſcription*, this VERONICA, as one of their beſt authors has ſhewn [*k*,] like

[*i*] Vid. Aringh. Rom. Subterran. tom. ii. p. 453. There is a prayer in their books of offices, ordered by the rubric, to be addreſſed to this ſacred and miraculous picture, in the following terms—*Conduct us, O thou bleſſed figure, to our proper home, where we may behold the pure face of Chriſt.*—See Conform. of Anc. & Mod. Ceremonies, p. 158.

[*k*] Hæc Chriſti Imago à recentioribus VERONICÆ dicitur: imaginem ipſam veteres VERONICAM appellabant, &c. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 88.

Amphibolus,

Amphibolus, before-mentioned, was not any *real perſon*, but the name given to the *picture itſelf* by the *old writers*, who mention it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words VERA ICON, or *true Image*, the title inſcribed perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief, by the firſt contrivers of the impoſture.

Theſe ſtories however, as fabulous and childiſh as they appear to men of ſenſe, are yet urged by grave authors in defence of their *Image-worſhip*, as certain proofs of it's *divine origin*, and ſufficient to confound all the *impious oppoſers* of it [*l*].

I ſhall add nothing more on this article, than that whatever worſhip was paid by the *ancients* to their *heroes* or *inferior deities*, the *Romaniſts* now pay the ſame to their *Saints* and *Martyrs*; as their *own inſcriptions* plainly declare; which,

[*l*] Imaginem hanc ab Edeſſenorum civitate tranſlatam, condigno ad hæc uſque tempora venerationis cultu in D. Silveſtri eccleſiâ, veluti divinum quid & perenne ſacrarum imaginum monumentum, pariter ac propugnaculum adverſus inſanos Iconoclaſtas aſſervari, & ſuſpiciendam fidelibus adorandamque proponi.

Sacroſancta autem Redemptoris Imago, gemmarum Theſauris quibuſque longe anteferenda, in Vaticana Baſilica, quo par eſt venerationis cultu aſſervatur. Aringh. Rom. Subt. t. ii. l. v. c. 4.

Effigie più d'ogni altra ſublime è adoranda, par eſſer non fattura di mano Angelica o' d'humana, mà del Fattor mediſimo degli Angeli & degli huomini. Rom. Mod. Gior. i. Rion. di Bor.

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like thoſe mentioned above of *St. Martina*, and the *Pantheon*, generally ſignify that the *honors, which of old had been impiouſly given in that place to the falſe God, are now piouſly and rightly tranſferred to the Chriſtian Saint*: or, as one of their *celebrated Poets* expreſſes himſelf in regard to St. *George*,

Ut Martem Latii, ſic nos Te, Dive Georgi,
Nunc colimus, &c. Mantuan.
As *Mars* our Fathers once ador'd, ſo now
To thee, O *George*, we humbly proſtrate bow.

And every where through *Italy*, one ſees their *ſacred inſcriptions* ſpeaking the pure language of *Paganiſm*, and aſcribing the ſame *Powers*, *Characters*, and *Attributes* to their *Saints*, which had formerly been aſcribed to the *Heathen Gods*; as the few here exhibited will evince.

Popiſh Inſcriptions.	Pagan Inſcriptions.
[*m*] MARIA ET FRANCISCE TVTELARES MEI.	MERCVRIO ET MINERVAE DIIS TVTELARIB. [*n*]
DIVO EVSTORGIO QVI HVIC TEMPLO PRAESIDET.	DII QVI HVIC TEMPLO PRAESIDENT.
NVMINI DIVI GEORGII POLLENTIS POTENTIS INVICTI.	NVMINI MERCVRII SACR. HERCVLI VICTORI POLLENTI POTENTI INVICTO PRAESTITI IOVI S.
DIVIS PRAESTITIBVS IVVANTIBVS GEORGIO STEPHANOQVE CVM DEO OPT. MAX.	DIIS. DEABVS QVE. CVM IOVE.

[*m*] Vid. Boldonii Epigraphica, p. 439. It. p. 348. It. p. 422. It. 649.

[*n*] Gruter. Corp. Inſcript. p. 50. It. Cic. Or. pro Lege Man. 15. It. Grut. p. 54. It. p. 50. It. p. 22. It. ib. p. 2.

Boldonius

Boldonius cenſures the author of the laſt inſcription, for the abſurdity of putting the *Saints before God himſelf*; and imitating too cloſely the *ancient* inſcription, which I have ſet againſt it, where the ſame impropriety is committed in regard to *Jupiter*.

As to that celebrated *act of Popiſh Idolatry*, the *Adoration of the Hoſt*, I muſt confeſs, that I cannot find the leaſt reſemblance of it in any part of the *Pagan Worſhip*: and as oft as I have been ſtanding by at *Maſs*, and ſeen the whole congregation proſtrate on the ground, in the humbleſt poſture of adoring, at the *elevation of this conſecrated piece of bread*; I could not help reflecting on a paſſage of *Tully*, where ſpeaking of the abſurdity of the *Heathens* in the choice of *their Gods*, *But was any man*, ſays he, *ever ſo mad as to take that which he feeds upon for a God* [*o*]*?* This was an extravagance reſerved for *Popery* alone; and what an *old Roman* could not but think too groſs, even for *Egyptian Idolatry* to ſwallow, is now become the *principal part of worſhip*, and the diſtinguiſhing *Article of Faith*, in the *Creed of modern Rome*.

But their *temples* are not the only places where we ſee the proofs and overt-acts of their *ſuperſtition*: the whole face of the country has

[*o*] Sed ecquem tam amentem eſſe putas, qui illud, quo veſcatur, Deum credat eſſe? Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii.

the viſible *characters* of *Paganiſm* upon it; and wherever we look about us, we cannot but find, as St. *Paul* did in *Athens* [*p*], clear evidence of it's being poſſeſſed by a *ſuperſtitious and idolatrous* people.

The *old Romans*, we know, had *their Gods*, who preſided peculiarly over the *roads*, *ſtreets*, and *highways*, called *Viales*, *Semitales*, *Compitales*: whoſe little *temples* or *altars* decked with flowers, or whoſe *ſtatues* at leaſt coarſly carved of wood or ſtone, were placed at convenient diſtances in the public ways, for the benefit of travelers, who uſed to ſtep aſide to pay their devotions to theſe *rural Shrines*, and beg a proſperous journey and ſafety in their travels [*q*]. Now this cuſtom prevails ſtill ſo generally in all *popiſh countries*, but eſpecially in *Italy*, that one can ſee no other difference between the *old* and *preſent ſuperſtition*, than that of changing the name of the *Deity*, and *chriſtening* as it were the *old Hecate in triviis*, by the new name of *Maria in trivio*; by which title, I have obſerved one of their Churches dedicated in this city [*r*]:

[*p*] Act. Apoſt. xvii. 17.

[*q*] Ut religioſis viantium moris eſt, cum aliquis lucus, aut aliquis locus ſanctus in via oblatus eſt, votum poſtulare, donum apponere, pauliſper aſſidere.

Neque juſtius religioſam moram viatori objecerit aut ara floribus redimita — aut truncus dolamine effigiatus, &c.

Apuleii Florid. i.

Invoco vos, Lares viales, ut me bene juvetis.

Plaut. Merc. v. 2.

[*r*] Rom. Modern. Gior. Rion. di Colonna, c. xi.

I and

and as the Heathens uſed to paint over the ordinary *Statues of their Gods*, with *red* or ſome ſuch gay color [*s*]; ſo I have oft obſerved the coarſe *Images of theſe Saints* ſo daubed over with a gaudy red, as to reſemble exactly the deſcription of the *God Pan* in *Virgil*;

Sanguineis ebuli baccis minioque rubentem. Ecl. x.

In paſſing along the road, it is common to ſee travellers on their knees before theſe *ruſtic altars*; which none ever preſume to approach without ſome act of reverence; and thoſe, who are moſt in haſte, or at a diſtance, are ſure to pull off their Hats at leaſt, in token of reſpect: and I took notice, that our poſtilions uſed to look back upon us, to ſee how we behaved on ſuch occaſions, and ſeemed ſurprized at our paſſing ſo negligently before places eſteemed ſo ſacred.

But beſides theſe *Images* and *Altars*, there are frequently erected on the road huge *wooden croſſes* [*t*], dreſſed out with flowers, and hung round with the trifling offerings of the country people; which always put me in mind of the *ſuperſtitious veneration*, which the *Heathens* uſed

[*s*] Fictilem fuiſſe & ideo miniari ſolitum. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xxxv. 12. & a Cenſoribus Jovem miniandum locari. Ibid. l. xxxiii. 7. It. Pauſan. ii. 2.

[*t*] Sanctæ Imagines & Cruces in viis publicis eriguntur, & nos propter Deum, & puram erga ſanctos ejus fidem, ſancta ejuſmodi ubique erecta adoramus & ſalutamus. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 6.

to pay to ſome old *trunks of trees* or poſts, ſet up in the highways, which they held *ſacred* [*u*], or of that *venerable Oak* in *Ovid*, covered with *garlands and votive offerings:*

Stabat in his ingens annoſo robore quercus;
Una nemus: Vittæ mediam, memoreſque tabellæ
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.
Met. viii.

Rev'rend with Age a ſtately Oak there ſtood,
It's Branches widely ſtretch'd, itſelf a Wood,
With Ribbands, Garlands, Pictures cover'd o'er,
The Fruits of pious Vows from Rich and Poor.

This deſcription of the *Pagan Oak* puts me in mind of a ſtory, that I have met with here, of a *Popiſh Oak* very like it, *viz.* how a certain perſon, devoted to the worſhip of the *Virgin*, hung up a *picture of her* in an *Oak*, that he had in his vineyard, which grew ſo famous for *it's miracles*, that the *Oak* ſoon became covered with *votive offerings, and rich preſents* from diſtant countries, ſo as to furniſh a fund at laſt for the building of a *great Church* to the *miraculous picture*; which now ſtands dedicated in this city, under the title of *St. Mary of the Oak* [*x*].

But

[*u*] Nam veneror, ſeu ſtipes habet deſertus in agris,
Seu vetus in trivio florida ſerta lapis.
Tibul. El. i. 11.

[*x*] Eſſendo egli divotiſſimo della Madonna, fece dipingere l'imagine di lei, e l'appeſe ad una Quercia — dove cominciò a manifeſtarſi con molti miracoli, intanto che ſino dall'Africa, e da Conſtantinopoli l'erano mandati voti

But what gave me ſtill the greater notion of the ſuperſtition of theſe countries, was to ſee thoſe *little Oratories*, or *rural Shrines*, ſometimes placed under the cover of a *tree* or *grove*; agreeably to the deſcriptions of the *old idolatry*, in the *ſacred* as well as *profane* writers [*y*]; or more generally raiſed on ſome *eminence*, or, in the *phraſe of Scripture*, on *high places*; the conſtant ſcene of *idolatrous worſhip* in all ages; it being an univerſal opinion among the *Heathens*, that the Gods in a peculiar manner loved to reſide on *eminences* or *tops of mountains* [*z*]: which *Pagan notion* prevails ſtill ſo generally with the *Papiſts*, that there is hardly a *rock* or *precipice*, how dreadful or difficult ſoever of acceſs, that has not an *Oratory*, or *Altar*, or *Crucifix* at leaſt, planted on the *top* of it.

Among the rugged *mountains of the Alps* in *Savoy*, very near to a little town called *Modana*, there ſtands on the *top of a rock*, a *chapel*, with a *miraculous Image* of *our Lady*, which is viſited with great devotion by the people, and ſometimes, we were told, by the *King himſelf*; being famous, it ſeems, for a *miracle* of a ſingular kind, (*viz.*) the reſtoring of *dead-born children to life*; but ſo far onely, as to make them

in tanta quantità, che vi ſi fece una gran Chieſa.—Rom. Modern. Gior. iii. c. 30. Rion. della Reg.

[*y*] Lucus & Ara Dianæ. Hor.

[*z*] Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθίζετο νίδεϊ γαίων, Il. θ. 50.

capable of *Baptiſm*, after which they again expire: and our landlord aſſured me, that there was daily proof of the truth of this *miracle*, in children brought from all quarters to be preſented before this Shrine; who never failed to ſhew manifeſt tokens of life, by *ſtretching out their arms*, or *opening their eyes*, or even ſometimes *making water*, whilſt they were held by the prieſt in preſence of *the Image*. All which appeared ſo ridiculous to a *French* gentleman, who was with me at the place, but had not heard the ſtory from our landlord, that he looked upon it as a banter or fiction of my own, till I brought him to my author, who with his wife, as well as our Voiturins, very ſeriouſly teſtified the truth of it; and added farther, that when the *French* army paſſed that way in the laſt war, they were ſo impious, as to throw down this *ſacred Image* to the bottom of a vaſt precipice hard by it, which, though of wood only, was found below entire and unhurt by the fall, and ſo replaced in it's *Shrine*, with greater honor than ever, by the atteſtation of this *new miracle*.

On the top of *Mount Senis*, the higheſt mountain of the *Alps*, in the ſame paſſage of *Savoy*, covered with perpetual ſnow, they have another *Chapel*, in which they perform divine ſervice once a year, in the *Month of Auguſt*; and ſometimes, as our guides informed us, to the deſtruction of the whole congregation, by the accident

accident of a ſudden tempeſt in a place ſo elevated and expoſed. And this ſurely comes up to the deſcription of that worſhip, which the *Jews* were commanded to extirpate from the face of the earth: "Ye ſhall utterly deſtroy "the places wherein the nations ſerved their "Gods, upon the high mountains and upon "the hills, and under every green tree: And "ye ſhall overthrow their altars, break their "pillars, burn their groves, and hew down "the graven Images *of their Gods* [*a*]."

When we enter their towns, the caſe is ſtill the ſame, as it was in the country; we find every where the ſame marks of *Idolatry* and the ſame reaſons to make us fancy, that we are ſtill treading *Pagan ground*; whilſt at every corner we ſee *Images* and *Altars*, with *lamps* or *candles* burning before them; exactly anſwering to the deſcriptions of the *ancient writers* [*b*]; and to what *Tertullian* reproaches the *Heathens* with, that *their ſtreets, their markets, their baths were not without an idol* [*c*]. But above all, in the *pomp* and *ſolemnity* of their *Holy-days*, and eſpecially their *religious proceſſions*, we ſee the

[*a*] Deuteron. xii. 2, 3.

[*b*] Ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεῶν. Xenoph. l. iv. It. Eurip. Elec. 387. Μεταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαὶ, &c. Lucian. in Prometh.

Omnibus vicis Statuæ, ad eas Thus & Cerei. Cic. Off. iii. 26.

[*c*] De Spectac. c. viii.

genuin remains of *Heatheniſm*, and proof enough to convince us, that this is ſtill the *ſame Rome*, which *old Numa* firſt *tamed* and *civilized* by the *arts of religion*: who, as *Plutarch* ſays [*d*], "by the inſtitution of ſupplications and pro-"ceſſions to the Gods, which inſpire reverence, "whilſt they give pleaſure to the ſpectators, "and by pretended miracles, and divine appa-"ritions, reduced the fierce ſpirits of his ſub-"jects under the power of ſuperſtition."

The deſcriptions of the *religious pomps and proceſſions* of the Heathens come ſo near to what we ſee on every *feſtival of the Virgin* or other *Romiſh Saint*, that one can hardly help thinking theſe *Popiſh ones* to be ſtill regulated by the *old ceremonial* of *Pagan Rome*. At theſe ſolemnities the *chief magiſtrate* uſed frequently to aſſiſt in *robes of ceremony*; attended by the *Prieſts* in *ſurplices* [*e*], with *wax candles* in their hands, carrying upon a *pageant* or *thenſa* the *Images of their Gods*, dreſſed out in their beſt

[*d*] Τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις ἅμα σεμνότητι διαγωγὴν ἐπίχαριν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡδονὴν ἐχέσαις δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασσεύων τὸ θυμοειδές, &c. ἐθέλγε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας, &c. Ibid. Plutar. in Numa, p. 16.

[*e*] Antiſtites ſacrorum candido linteamine — ad uſque veſtigia ſtrictim injecti. Deûm proferebant inſignes exuvias, quorum primus lucernam præmicantem claro porrigebat lumine, &c.—Eas amœnus lectiſſimæ juventutis, veſte niveâ prænitens ſequebatur chorus, carmen venuſtum iterantes.——Magnus præterea ſexûs utriuſque numerus, lucernis, tædis, cereis, &c. Apul. ibid. Vid. Pauſan. ii. 7.

cloaths;

cloaths: theſe were uſually followed by the *principal youth* of the place, in *white linen veſtments or ſurplices*, *ſinging hymns* in honor of the *God*, whoſe *feſtival* they were celebrating; accompanied by *crouds of all ſorts*, that were initiated in the *ſame religion*, all with *flambeaux* or *wax candles* in their hands. This is the account which *Apuleius*, and other authors give us of a *Pagan proceſſion*; and I may appeal to all, who have been abroad, whether it might not paſs quite as well for the deſcription of a *Popiſh one*. *Monſieur Tournefort*, in his travels through *Greece*, reflects upon the *Greek Church*, for having retained and taken into their preſent worſhip many of the *old rites of Heatheniſm*, and particularly that of *carrying and dancing about the Images of the Saints in their proceſſions*, *to ſinging and muſic* [*f*]: the reflection is full as applicable to his own, as it is to the *Greek Church*, and the practice itſelf ſo far from giving ſcandal in *Italy*, that the learned Publiſher of the *Florentine Inſcriptions* takes occaſion to ſhew the *conformity* between them and the *Heathens*, from this very inſtance of carrying about the *pictures of their Saints*, as the *Pagans* did thoſe of their *Gods*, *in their ſacred proceſſions* [*g*].

In one of theſe *proceſſions*, made lately to St. *Peter's* in the time of *Lent*, I ſaw that *ridiculous*

[*f*] Tournefort, Lit. iii. 44.

[*g*] Cui non abludunt (ſi ſacra cum profanis conferre fas eſt) pictæ tabulæ Sanctorum imaginibus exornatæ, quæ, &c. Inſcript. Antig. Flor. p. 377.

penance

penance of the *flagellantes*, or *ſelf-whippers*, who march with *whips* in their hands, and laſh themſelves as they go along, on the bare back, till it is *all* covered with blood; in the ſame manner, as the *fanatical Prieſts* of *Bellona* or the *Syrian Goddeſs*, as well as the votaries of *Iſis*, uſed to ſlaſh and cut themſelves of old, in order to pleaſe the *Goddeſs*, *by the ſacrifice of their own blood:* which *mad piece of diſcipline* we find frequently mentioned, and as oft ridiculed by the *ancient writers.*

But they have another exerciſe of the ſame kind, and in the ſame ſeaſon of Lent, which, under the notion of penance, is ſtill a more abſurd mockery of all religion: when on a certain day, appointed annually for this diſcipline, men of all conditions aſſemble themſelves towards the evening, in one of the Churches of the City; where whips or laſhes made of cords are provided, and diſtributed to every perſon preſent; and after they are all ſerved, and a ſhort office of devotion performed; the candles being put out, upon the warning of a little bell, the whole company begin preſently to ſtrip, and try the force of theſe whips on their own backs, for the ſpace of near an hour: during all which time, the Church becomes, as it were, the proper Image of Hell: where nothing is heard but the noiſe of laſhes and chains, mixed with the groans of theſe ſelf-tormentors; till ſatiated with their exerciſe, they are content to

put

put on their cloaths, and the candles being lighted again, upon the tinkling of a ſecond bell, they *all* appear in their proper dreſs.

Seneca, alluding to the very ſame effects of *fanaticiſm* in *Pagan Rome*, ſays; "So great is "the force of it on diſordered minds, that they "try to appeaſe the Gods by ſuch methods, as "an enraged man would hardly take to revenge "himſelf. But, if there be any Gods, who "deſire to be worſhipped after this manner, "they do not deſerve to be worſhipped at "all: ſince the very worſt of Tyrants, though "they have ſometimes torn a tortured people's "limbs, yet have never commanded men to "torture themſelves [*b*]."

But there is no occaſion to imagine, that all the blood, which ſeems to flow on theſe occaſions, really comes from the backs of theſe Bigots: for it is probable, that, like their *frantic Predeceſſors*, they may uſe ſome *craft*, as well as *zeal*, in this their fury; and I cannot but think, that there was a great deal of juſtice in that edict of the *Emperor Commodus*, with regard to theſe *Bellonarii*, or *whippers of antiquity*, though it is uſually imputed to his cruelty, when he

[*b*] Tantus eſt perturbatæ mentis furor; ut ſic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem ſæviunt.—— Dii autem nullo debent coli genere, ſi & hoc volunt—— Teterrimi tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra; neminem ſua lacerare juſſerunt. Seneca Fragm. apud Lipſii Elect. l. ii. 18.

commanded,

commanded, that they *ſhould not be ſuffered to impoſe upon the ſpectators*, but be *obliged to cut and flaſh themſelves in good earneſt* [*h*].

If I had leiſure to examine the *pretended miracles*, and *pious frauds* of the *Romiſh Church*, I ſhould be able to trace them all from the ſame ſource of *Paganiſm*, and find, that the *Prieſts of new Rome* are not degenerated from *their predeceſſors*, in the art of forging theſe *holy impoſtures*; which, as *Livy* obſerves of *old Rome* [*i*], *were always multiplied in proportion to the credulity and diſpoſition of the poor people to ſwallow them.*

In the early times of the *republic*, in the war with the *Latins*, the *Gods Caſtor and Pollux* are ſaid to have appeared *on white horſes* in the *Roman army*, which by their aſſiſtance gained a complete victory: in memory of which, the *General Poſthumius vowed and built a Temple publicly to thoſe Deities*; and for a proof of the fact, there was ſhewn, we find, in *Cicero's* time, the *mark of the horſes hoofs* on a *rock at Regillum*, where they firſt appeared [*k*].

[*h*] Bellonæ ſervientes vere exſecare brachium præcepit, ſtudio crudelitatis. Lamprid. in Commodo, 9.

[*i*] Quæ quo magis credebant ſimplices & religioſi homines, eo plura nunciabantur. Liv. l. xxiv. 10.

[*k*] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. 5. Ib. ii. 2. Vid. de Div. i. 34.

Now

Now this *miracle*, with many others, that I could mention of the ſame kind [*l*], has, I dare ſay, as authentic an atteſtation, as any which the *Papiſts* can produce: the decree of a *Senate* to confirm it; a *Temple* erected in conſequence of it; *viſible marks* of the fact on the ſpot where it was tranſacted; and all this ſupported by the concurrent teſtimony of the *beſt authors of antiquity*; amongſt whom *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays [*m*], that there were ſubſiſting in his time at *Rome* many evident proofs of it's realty, beſides a *yearly feſtival*, with a ſolemn *ſacrifice* and *proceſſion* in memory of it: yet for all this, theſe ſtories were but the jeſt of men of ſenſe, even in the times of *Heatheniſm* [*n*]; and ſeem ſo extravagant to us now, that we wonder, how there could ever be any ſo ſimple, as to believe them.

What better opinion then can we have, of all thoſe of the ſame ſtamp in the *Popiſh Legends*, which they have plainly built on this foundation, and copied from this very original? Not content with barely copying, they ſeldom fail to improve the old ſtory, with ſome additional forgery and invention of their own. Thus in

[*l*] Cic. Nat. D. ii. 2. Plutar. in vita P. Æmil. Val. Max. c. viii. 1. L. Flor. l. i. 11. l. i. 12.

[*m*] Dion. Halic. l. vi. p. 337. Edit. Hudſon.

[*n*] Aut ſi hoc fieri potuiſſe dicis, doceas oportet, quomodo, nec fabellas aniles proferas. Cic. ibid. iii. 5.

the

the preſent caſe, inſtead of *two perſons* on *white horſes*; they take care to introduce *three*; and not only on *white horſes*, but at the head of *white armies*; as in an old hiſtory of the holy wars, written by a pretended eye-witneſs, and publiſhed by *Mabillon*, it is ſolemnly affirmed of St. *George*, *Demetrius*, and *Theodorus* [*o*]. They ſhew us too in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, the *marks of hands* and *feet* on *rocks* and *ſtones*, ſaid to have been effected miraculouſly by the *apparition* of ſome *Saint* or *Angel* on the ſpot [*p*]: juſt as the *impreſſion of Hercules's feet* was ſhewn of old on a ſtone in *Scythia* [*q*], exactly reſembling the foot-ſteps of a man. And they have alſo many *Churches* and public monuments [*r*] erected, in teſtimony

[*o*] Tres itaque milites perſequentes illos ſedebant ſuper albos equos—credenda eſt iſta veritas, & nullo modo prohibenda—hoc vero firmatum eſt teſtimonio eorundem Turcorum—Iſti vero fuerunt Chriſti milites Sanctus Demetrius, Sanctus Georgius, & Sanctus Theodorus, quos Deus mandavit, &c.

Adjuvante eos Domino & viſibiliter mittente eis in adjutorium ſanctos ſuos Bellatores, videl. Demetrium multotiens, aliquando Georgium, necnon & interdum Theodorum; aliquando totos tres cum ſuis dealbatis exercitibus, videntibus non ſolum Chriſti militibus, ſed etiam ipſis inimicis Paganis, &c. Vid. Bell. Sac. Hiſt. in Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 138, 155.

[*p*] Si conſerva poi in queſta Chieſa una pietra, ſopra la quale apparendo l'Angelo in Caſtello, vi laſcio le piante de ſuoi piedi impreſſe, e d'un fanciullo paiono le veſtigia. R. Mod. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetalii, c. 1.

[*q*] Herodot. l. iv. p. 4. 251. Edit. Lond.

[*r*] There is an Altar of marble in St. *Peter's*, one of the greateſt pieces of modern ſculpture, repreſenting in figures

as

teſtimony of ſuch miracles, *viz.* of *Saints and Angels fighting viſibly for them in their battles*; which though always as ridiculous as that above-mentioned, are not yet ſupported by half ſo good evidence of their reality [*s*].

" The religion of *Ceres of Enna* was cele-
" brated, as *Cicero* informs us, with a won-
" derfull devotion, both *in* public and private,
" through *all Sicily*: for her preſence and divi-
" nity had been frequently manifeſted to them
" by numerous prodigies, and many people
" had received immediate help from her in
" their utmoſt diſtreſs. Her Image therefore
" in that Temple was held in ſuch veneration,
" that whenever men beheld it, they fanſied
" themſelves beholding either *Ceres* herſelf, or
" the figure of her at leaſt, not made by human
" hands, but dropt down to them from hea-
" ven [*t*]." Now if, in the place of *Ceres of Enna*,

as large as the life, the ſtory of *Atilla* King of the *Hunns*, who in full march towards *Rome* with a victorious army, in order to pillage it, was frighted and driven back by the apparition of an Angel, in the time of Pope *Leo* the firſt.

The Caſtle and Church of St. *Angelo* have their title from the apparition of an Angel over the place, in the time of *Gregory* the Great. Rom. Moder. Giorn. i. Rion. di Borgo i.

[*s*] Divum Jacobum nationis Hiſpanicæ, qui armatus ſæpe viſus in ſublime præire ac protegere acies Hiſpanorum, nobileſque iis victorias in ſacris bellis conciliare. Boldonni Epigraph. l. ii. p. 349.

[*t*] Mira quædam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio eſt Cereris Ennenſis. Etenim multa ſæpe prodigia vim ejus numenque

Enna, we ſhould inſert into this relation, *our Lady of Loretto*; or of *Impruneta*, or any other *miraculous Image in Italy*; the very ſame account would ſuit as exactly with the hiſtory of the modern Saint, as it is told by the preſent *Romans*, as it formerly did with that of *Ceres*, as it is tranſmitted to us by the Ancients. And what elſe indeed are all their *miraculous Images*, which we ſee in every great town, ſaid to be made by *Angels*, and ſent to them from *heaven* [*u*], but mere copies of the ancient *Fables*, or the Διοπετὴς Ἄγαλμα, or *Image of* Diana *dropt from the clouds* [*w*]; or the *Palladium* of *Troy*, which, according to *old Authors* [*x*], was a wooden ſtatue three cubits long, which *fell from heaven*.

numenque declarant: multis ſæpe in difficillimis rebus præſens auxilium ejus oblatum eſt, &c. In Verr. iv. 49.

Alterum autem Ennæ (ſimulacrum Cereris) erat tale, ut hominis cum viderent, aut ipſam ſe videre Cererem, aut effigiem Cereris, non humana manu factam, ſed cælo delapſam arbitrarentur. Ib. v. 7.

[*u*] Sed quorſum hic Sancti Dominici imaginem, quæ apud Surrianum in Calabria jugibus nunc miraculis præfulget, ſilentio obvolvimus? de Cœlo quippe, ut pia traditio eſt, hæc primum anno 1530 delata validiſſimum adverſus impios iconoclaſtas propugnaculum exhibet. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. v. c. 5.

De imagine illa, quæ cum ab Angelis confecta fuerit, ἀχειροτύπος vocatur, nil niſi tritum ſuccurrit. Montfauc. Diar. ibid. 137.

[*w*] Act. Apoſt. c. xix. 35.

[*x*] Vid. Pitiſci Lexic. Antiquitat.

In

In one of their *Churches* here, they ſhew a *picture of the Virgin*, which, as their Writers affirm [*y*], was brought down *from heaven* with great pomp, and after having hung a while with ſurprizing luſter in the air, in the *ſight of all the Clergy and people of Rome*, was delivered by *Angels* into the hands of *Pope John the Firſt*, who marched out in ſolemn proceſſion, in order to receive this *celeſtial preſent*. And is not this exactly of a piece with the old *Pagan ſtory of King Numa*, when, in this ſame City, he iſſued from his palace, with *Prieſts and people* after him, and with *public prayer and ſolemn devotion* received the *ancile*, or *heavenly ſhield*, which, in the preſence of all the *people of Rome*, was ſent down to him with much the ſame formality *from the clouds* [*z*]? And as that wiſe Prince, for the ſecurity of his *heavenly preſent*, ordered ſeveral others to be made ſo exactly like it, that the *original* could not be diſtinguiſhed [*a*]; ſo the *Romiſh Prieſts* have thence taken the hint, to form, after each *celeſtial pattern*, a number of *copies*, ſo perfectly reſembling each other, as to

[*y*] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rion. di Ripa, c. xliii.

[*z*] A media Cœlum regione dehiſcere cœpit:
Submiſere oculos cum duce turba ſuos.
Ecce levi ſcutum verſatum leniter aura
Decidit, a populo clamor ad aſtra venit, &c.
Ov. Faſt. l. iii.

[*a*] Plura jubet fieri ſimili cœlata figurâ;
Error ut ante oculos inſidiantis eat.
Ov. Faſt. l. iii.

occaſion endleſs ſquabbles among themſelves about their ſeveral pretenſions to the *divine original.*

The *rod of Moſes*, with which he performed his *miracles*, is ſtill preſerved, as they pretend, and ſhewn here with great devotion, in one of the principal *Churches:* and juſt ſo the *rod of Romulus*, with which he performed his *auguries*, was preſerved by the *Prieſts*, as a *ſacred relique* in *old Rome*, and kept with great reverence from being *touched or handled* by the people [*b*]: which *rod* too, like moſt of the *Popiſh reliques*, had the teſtimony of a *miracle* in proof of it's ſanctity; for when the *Temple, where it was kept, was burnt to the ground, it was found intire under the aſhes, and untouched by the flames* [*c*]: which ſame *miracle* has been borrowed and exactly copied by the *preſent Romans*, in many inſtances; particularly, in a *miraculous Image* of our *Saviour* in St. *John Lateran*; over which the *flames*, it ſeems, *had no power, though the Church itſelf has been twice deſtroyed by fire* [*d*].

Nothing is more common among the *miracles of Popery*, than to hear of *Images*, that on cer-

[*b*] Παραλαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ ξύλον ὥσπερ ἄλλό τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄψαυστον ἐφύλαττον. Plutar. in Camil. 145. D.

[*c*] Poſſunt & illa miraculorum loco poni: Quod deuſto ſacrario Saliorum, nihil in eo præter lituum Romuli integrum repertum eſt. Valer. Max. c. viii. 10. It. Cic. de Divin. i. 17. Plut. in Rom.

[*d*] E queſta imagine non s'abbrucio, eſſendo la Chieſa ſtata abbruciata due volte. Rom. Moder. Gior. vi. Rion. di Monti xi.

tain

tain occaſions had ſpoken; or *ſhed tears*; or *ſweat*; or *bled:* and do not we find the very ſame ſtories in all the *Heathen Writers?* Of which I could bring numberleſs examples from *old* as well as *new Rome*, from *Pagan* as well as *Popiſh legends*. *Rome*, as the Deſcriber of it ſays [*e*], *abounds with theſe treaſures, or ſpeaking Images:* but he laments the negligence of their anceſtors, in not recording, ſo particularly as they ought, the *very words and other circumſtances of ſuch converſations*. They ſhew us here an *Image of the Virgin*, which *reprimanded* Gregory *the Great*, for paſſing by her too careleſly: and, in St. *Paul's* Church, a crucifix, which ſpoke to St. *Bridgith* [*f*], *Durantus* mentions another Madonna, which *ſpoke to the ſexton*, in *commendation of the piety of one of her votaries* [*g*]. And did not the *Image of Fortune* do the ſame, or more, *in old Rome?* Which, as

[*e*] Non ſi puo negare, che per le grande abbondanza, che ha' Roma in ſimili teſori, non ſiano ſtati negligenti i noſtri Maggiori, in darne buon conto à poſteri loro. Rom. Mod. R. di Monti xxi.

[*f*] Vi è una Madonna detta di St. Gregorio, della quale ſi dice, che un giorno paſſando il detto Pontifice, & non ſalutandola, gli diceſſe, &c. Ibid. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetalli.

Ad ſanctum Paulum, ubi vidimus ligneam Crucifixi imaginem, quem ſancta Brigida ſibi loquentem audiviſſe perhitur. Mabill. D. Italic. p. 133.

[*g*] Imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ cuſtodem Eccleſiæ allocutam & Alexii ſingularem pietatem commendaſſe. Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 5.

Authors ſay, *ſpoke twice in praiſe of thoſe matrons, who had dedicated a Temple to her* [*h*].

They have a Church here dedicated to *St. Mary the Weeper*, or to a *Madonna* famous for ſhedding *tears* [*i*]: They ſhew an *Image* too of *our Saviour*, which for ſome time before the *Sacking of* Rome *wept ſo heartily*, that the *good fathers of the Monaſtery* were all employed in *wiping its face with cotton* [*k*]: And was not the caſe juſt the ſame among their *anceſtors*, when on the approach of ſome public calamity, the *ſtatue of Apollo*, as *Livy* tells us, *wept for three days and nights ſucceſſively* [*l*]? They have another *Church*, built in honor of an *Image*, which *bled very plentifully*, from a blow given to it by a blaſphemer [*m*]: And were not the *old Idols* too as *full of blood*, when as *Livy* relates, *all the*

[*h*] Fortunæ item Muliebris ſimulacrum, quod eſt in via Latina, non ſemel, ſed bis *locutum conſtitit*, his pæne verbis: Bene me, matronæ, *vidiſtis*, riteque dedicaſtis. Valer. Max. i. 8.

[*i*] S. Maria del Pianto. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rion. della Regoſa v.

[*k*] Dicono, ch'avanti il ſacco di Roma pianſe piu volte, e li Padri ci veniſſero ad aſciugar le lagrime con bombace. Ib. Gior. vi. Rio di Mon. xxxi.

[*l*] Apollo triduum & tres noctes lacrymavit. Liv. l. xliii. 13.

[*m*] Comminciarono a tirarle de' faſſi nel viſo, e nè uſcì ſangue, del quale ſi vedono inſin' hora i ſegni, &c. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rio. di Ponte xvii.

Images

Images in the temple of Juno *were ſeen to ſweat with drops of it* [*n*]*?*

All which *prodigies*, as well *modern* as *ancient*, are derived from the ſame ſource, *viz.* the *contrivance of prieſts or governors*, in order to draw ſome gain or advantage out of the poor people, whom they thus impoſe upon.

Xenophon, though himſelf much addicted to *ſuperſtition*, ſpeaking of the *Prodigies*, which preceded the battle of *Leuctra*, and portended victory to the *Thebans*, tells us, that *ſome people looked upon them all as forged and contrived by the magiſtrates* [*o*], the better to animate and encourage the multitude: and as the *originals* themſelves were but *impoſtures*, it is no wonder, that the *copies* of them appear ſuch *groſs* and *bungling forgeries*.

I have obſerved a ſtory in *Herodotus* [*p*], not unlike the account, which is given of the *famed travels* of the *houſe of Loretto*; of *certain ſacred myſtical things*, that *travelled about from country to country*, and, after *many removals and journeys*, ſettled at laſt, for good and all, in *Delus*. But this *impoſture* of the *holy houſe* might be ſug-

[*n*] Signa ad Junonis Soſpitæ ſudore manavere. Liv. xxiii. 31.

Ad lucum Feroniæ ſanguine ſudarunt. Ib. xxvii. 4.

[*o*] Οἱ μὲν δή τινες λέγεσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. Xenoph. Ellen. l. iv.

[*p*] Herodot. l. iv. p. 235. Edit. Lond.

geſted rather, as Mr. *Addiſon* has obſerved [*q*], by the extraordinary veneration paid in *old Rome* to the *cottage of it's founder Romulus:* which was held *ſacred by the people, and repaired with great care from time to time, with the ſame kind of materials, ſo as to be kept up in the ſame form, in which it was originally built* [*r*]. It was turned alſo, I find, like this other *cottage of our Lady*, into a *temple*, and had *divine ſervice* performed in it, till it happened to be burnt down by the *fire of a ſacrifice* in the time of *Auguſtus* [*s*]; but what makes the ſimilitude ſtill more remarkable is, that this *pretended cottage of Romulus* was ſhewn on the *Capitoline Hill* [*t*]: whereas it is certain, that *Romulus* himſelf lived on *Mount Palatin* [*u*]: ſo that, if it had really been the *houſe of Romulus*, it muſt needs, like the *holy houſe of Loretto*, have taken a *leap* in the air, and ſuffered a *miraculous tranſlation*, though not from ſo great a diſtance, yet from *one hill* at leaſt to the *other*.

[*q*] *Addiſon*'s Travels from *Peſaro* to *Rome*.

[*r*] Dion. Halicar. l. i.

[*s*] Σκηνὴ ἡ τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἐξ ἱερουργίας τινὸς, ἣν οἱ πονλίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν, ἐκαύθη. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 383.

[*t*] Per Romuli caſam, perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta juro. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 11.

Item in Capitolio commonefacere poteſt & ſignificare mores vetuſtatis Romuli caſa in arce ſacrorum. Vitruv. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. etiam Macrob. Sat. i. 15. Virg. Æn. viii. 65.

[*u*] Περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Παλατίου καλάδασιν. Plutarch. in Rom. p. 30.

Ῥωμύλος μὲν τὸ Παλάτιον καλέχων, Τάτιος δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 110. Ed. Hudſ.

But

But if we follow their own writers, it is not the *holy houſe of Loretto*, but the *homely cradle of our Saviour*, that we ſhould compare rather with the *little houſe of Romulus:* which cradle is now ſhewn in *St. Mary* the Great, and on *Chriſtmas-day*, expoſed on the high altar to the adoration of the people; being held in the ſame veneration by *preſent Rome*, as the *humble cottage of it's founder* had been by it's *old inhabitants*. *Rome*, ſays *Baronius* [*x*], "Is now in poſſeſſion "of that noble monument of Chriſt's Nativity, "made only of wood, without any ornament "of ſilver or gold, and is made more happily "illuſtrious by it, than it was of old by the "cottage of *Romulus*; which, though built "only with mud and ſtraw, our anceſtors pre-"ſerved with great care for many ages."

The *melting of St. Januarius's Blood at* Naples, whenever it is brought to his *head*, which is done with great ſolemnity on the day of his *feſtival* [*y*], whilſt at all other times it continues

[*x*] Porro in Chriſti natalis nobile monumentum ex ligno confectum nullâque argenti vel auri cælaturâ confectum, Roma poſſidet, eoque multo feliciùs illuſtratur quàm tugurio Romuli, &c. Vid. Baron. An. i. Chriſti v. It. Aring. Rom. Subt. l. vi. 1.

[*y*] De ſancti Januarii cruore mirum quiddam narratur in Breviario Romano — quod ejus ſanguis, qui in ampulla vitrea concretus aſſervatur, cum in conſpectu capitis ponitur, admirandum in modum colliquifieri videtur. Aringh. Rom. Subter. l. i. 16.

dried and congealed in a glaſs phial, is one of the *ſtanding* and moſt *authentic miracles of Italy*. Yet Mr. *Addiſon*, who twice ſaw it performed, aſſures us, that inſtead of appearing to be a *real miracle*, he thought it *one of the moſt bungling tricks, that he had ever ſeen* [z].

Mabillon's account of the fact ſeems to ſolve it very naturally, without the help of a *miracle* [a]: for during the time that a *Maſs or two* are celebrated in the Church, the other prieſts are tampering with this *phial of blood*, which is *ſuſpended all the while in ſuch a ſituation; that as ſoon as any part of it begins to melt by the heat of their hands, or other management, it drops of courſe into the lower ſide of the glaſs which is empty*; upon the firſt diſcovery of which, the *miracle* is proclaimed aloud, to the great joy and edification of the people.

But by what way ſoever it be effected, it is plainly nothing elſe, but the *copy of an old cheat* of the *ſame* kind, tranſacted near the *ſame* place, which *Horace* makes himſelf merry with in his journey to *Brunduſium*; telling us, how the prieſts would have impoſed upon him and his friends, at a town called *Gnatia*, by perſuading them, that the *Frankincenſe in the temple uſed to*

[z] Addiſon's Trav. at Naples.

[a] Ad præſentiam capitis colliquifieri videtur, ampullâ eâ parte, qua ſanguis, naturaliter in ſubjectam ampullæ partem cadere debet, ſuſpensâ; miſſa interim una duæve, dum ſanguis decidat, celebrantur. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 106.

diſſolve

diſſolve and melt miraculouſly of itſelf, without the help of fire [*b*].

In the *Cathedral Church of Ravenna*, I ſaw in *Moſaic work* the pictures of thoſe *Archbiſhops* of the place, who, as all their hiſtorians affirm [*c*], were choſen for ſeveral ages ſucceſſively by the ſpecial deſignation of the *Holy Ghoſt*, who, in a full aſſembly of the Clergy and People, uſed to deſcend *viſibly on the perſon elect, in the ſhape of a Dove.* If the fact of ſuch a deſcent be true, it will eaſily be accounted for by a paſſage in *Aulus Gellius* (whence the hint was probably taken) who tells us of *Archytas* the *Philoſopher* and *Mathematician*, that he formed a *Pigeon of wood ſo artificially, as to make it fly by the power of Mechaniſm, juſt as he directed it* [*d*]. And we find from *Strada*, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diverſion of *Charles the fifth* in his Monaſtery, by one *Turrianus*, who made *little birds fly out of the room*

[*b*] Hor. Sat. i. v. ver. 98.

[*c*] Quis enim neſcit, quod ſacræ teſtantur hiſtoriæ, tunc temporis cum Fabianus in ſummum Pontificem ſalutatus eſt, Columbam cœlitùs adveniſſe, ejuſque capiti inſidendo ſuffragium detuliſſe? &c. Hoc idem in complurium Ravennatum Epiſcoporum electionibus ſolenne extitit, quorum memoriam Rubeus recolit. Hiſt. Raven. &c. Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. vi. c. 48.

[*d*] Plerique nobilium Græcorum affirmatiſſime ſcripſerunt, ſimulachrum Columbæ e ligno ab Archyta ratione quadam, diſciplinaque mechanica factum volaſſe: Ita erat libramentis ſuſpenſum, &c. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. x. 12.

and

and back again, by his great ſkill in *Machinery* [*e*].

It would be endleſs to run through all the *Popiſh Miracles*, which are evidently forged, or copied from the *originals of Paganiſm*; ſince there is ſcarce a *Prodigy* in the *old Hiſtorians*, or a *Fable* in the *old Poets*, but what is tranſcribed into *their Legends*, and ſwallowed by their ſilly Bigots, as certain and undoubted facts.

The ſtory of *Arion the Muſician*, riding triumphant with his harp on the *back of a Dolphin*, that took him up when *thrown over-board at Sea*, is, one would think, too groſly fabulous, to be applied to any purpoſe of Chriſtian *Superſtition*: Yet our *preſent Romans*, ſo far ſurpaſs the *old* in *Fable* and *Impoſture*, that out of this *ſingle ſtory* they have coined *many* of the *ſame ſtamp*, *viz.* of *Dolphins taking up and bringing aſhore* with great pomp ſeveral of *their Saints*, both dead and alive, who had been *thrown into the Sea*, *by Infidels*, either to drown, or to deprive them of burial [*f*].

The *fable of the Harpies*, thoſe *furies* or *winged monſters*, who were ſo troubleſome to *Æneas* and his *Companions* [*g*], ſeems to be copied in the

[*e*] Vid. Gronovii Not. in Gell. Ibid.

[*f*] Quos Judex ſubmerſos in mare necavit; ſed Delphinorum obſequio corpora eorum ad littus delata ſunt: Sed de obſequio Delphinorum martyribus impenſo plura infra ſuo loco. Aringh. Rom. Subterr. l. i. c. 9, 10.

[*g*] Virg. Æn. iii. 211.

very

very *firſt Church* within the walls of *Rome*, cloſe to the gate *of the people, as it is called*, by which we enter it from the north: where there is an *Altar* with a *public inſcription* [*h*], ſingifying, that it was built by *Pope* Paſchal *the Second, by divine Inſpiration, in order to drive away a neſt of huge dæmons or monſters, who uſed to perch upon a tree in that very place, and terribly inſult all who entered the city.*

The *Popiſh Writers* themſelves are forced to allow, that many both of *their reliques* and *their miracles* have been forged by the craft of *Prieſts*, for the ſake of money and lucre. *Durantus*, a zealous defender of *all their ceremonies*, gives ſeveral inſtances of the former; particularly of *the bones of a common thief*, which had for ſome time been *honored with an altar, and worſhipped under the title of a Saint* [*i*]. And for the latter; *Lyra*, in his *Comment on Bel and the Dragon*,

[*h*] Altare à Paſchali Papa II. divino afflatu
ritu ſolemni hoc loco erectum,
quo dæmones proceros
nucis arbori inſidentes,
tranſeuntem hinc populum dirè inſultantes,
confeſtim expulit,
Urbani VIII. pont. max. auctoritate
excelſiorem in locum quem conſpicis
tranſlatum fuit
An. Dom. M.DC.XXVII.

[*i*] S. Martinus altare, quod in honorem Martyris exſtructum fuerat, cum oſſa & reliquias cujuſdam latronis eſſe deprehendiſſet, ſubmoveri juſſit. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 25.

obſerves, *that ſometimes alſo in the Church, very great cheats are put upon the people, by falſe miracles, contrived, or countenanced at leaſt, by their prieſts for ſome gain and temporal advantage* [*k*]. And *what their own Authors* confeſs of *ſome of their miracles*, we may venture, without any breach of charity, to believe of them *all*; nay, we cannot indeed believe any thing elſe without impiety; and without ſuppoſing God to concur in an extrordinary manner, to the eſtabliſhment of *fraud, error*, and *ſuperſtition* in the world.

The *refuge* or *protection* given to all, who fly to the *Church* for ſhelter, is a *privilege* directly transferred from the *heathen temples* to the *Popiſh Churches*; and has been practiſed in *Rome*, from the time of it's *founder Romulus*; who, in imitation of the *Cities of Greece*, opened an *Aſylum* or *Sanctuary* to *fugitives* of all the Nations [*l*].

But we may obſerve the great moderation of *Pagan*, above that of *Popiſh Rome*, in regard to this cuſtom; for I do not remember that there ever was more than *one Aſylum* in the times of the *Republic*; whereas there are now *ſome hundreds* in the ſame city; and when that ſingle one

[*k*] Aliquando fit in Eccleſia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis à ſacerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale, &c. Vid. Nic. Lyr. in Dan. c. xiv.

[*l*] Romulus, ut ſaxo lucum circumdedit alto,
Quilibet huc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris.
Ov. Faſt. iii.

(which

(which was opened rather for the increaſe of it's inhabitants, than the protection of criminals) was found *in the* end to give too great encouragement to miſchief and licentiouſneſs; they *encloſed it round in ſuch a manner as to hinder all acceſs to it* [*m*]: whereas the preſent *Popiſh Sanctuaries* ſtand perpetually open, not to *receive ſtrangers*, but to *ſhelter villains*; ſo that it may literally be ſaid of theſe, what *our Saviour* ſaid of the *Jewiſh temple*, that *they have turned the Houſe of Prayer into a Den of Thieves* [*n*].

In the *early ages of Chriſtianity* there were many limitations put upon the uſe of this privilege by *Emperors and councils*; and the greater crimes of *murder*, *adultery*, *theft*, *&c.* were eſpecially excepted from the benefit of it [*o*]: but now they ſcruple not to receive to *ſanctuary*, even the moſt deteſtable crimes; and it is owing without doubt to this policy of *holy Church*, that murders are ſo common with them in *Italy* on ſlight provocations; whilſt there is a *Church* always at hand and always open, to ſecure offenders from legal puniſhment; ſeveral of whom have been ſhewn to me in different places,

[*m*] Οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράχθη, ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὸ δυνηθῆναι. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 385.

[*n*] Matth. xxi. 13.

[*o*] Neque Homicidis, neque Adulteris, neque virginum raptoribus, &c. terminorum cuſtodies cautelam; ſed etiam inde extrahes, & ſupplicium eis inferes. Juſtin. Novel. xvii. c. 7.

walking

walking about at their eaſe, and in full ſecurity within the bounds of their *ſanctuary*.

In their very *Prieſthood* they have contrived, one would think, to keep up as *near a reſemblance* as they could, to that of *Pagan Rome*: and the *ſovereign Pontif*, inſtead of deriving his ſucceſſion from *St. Peter*, (who, if ever he was at *Rome*, did not reſide there at leaſt in any worldly *pomp* or *ſplendor*) may with more reaſon, and a much better plea, ſtyle himſelf the *Succeſſor* of the [*p*] *Pontifex Maximus*, or *chief Prieſt of old Rome*; whoſe *authority* and *dignity* was the greateſt in the *Republic*; and who was looked upon as the *arbiter or judge of all things*, civil as well as ſacred, human as well as divine: whoſe power, eſtabliſhed almoſt with the foundation of the City, " was an omen (ſays *Poly-*" *dore Vergil*) and ſure preſage of that prieſtly " Majeſty, by which *Rome* was once again to

[*p*] Multa divinitus, Pontifices, a majoribus noſtris inventa, nihil præclarius, quam quod vos eoſdem, & religionibus Deorum Immortalium & ſummæ Reipublicæ præeſſe voluerunt. Cic. pro Dom. i.

Maximus Pontifex dicitur, quod maximus rerum, quæ ad ſacra & religiones pertinent, judex ſit, vindexque contumaciæ privatorum, magiſtratuumque. Feſt. l. xi. in voce *Max.*

Quod Judex atque Arbiter habeter rerum divinarum, humanarumque. Id. in *Ordo Sacerdotum.*

T. Coruncanium Pontificatu maximo ad principale extulere faſtigium. Vell. Pater. l. ii. 128.

" reign

" reign as univerſally, as it had done before by " the force of it's arms [*q*]."

But of all the *ſovereign Pontifs of Pagan Rome*, it is very remarkable that *Caligula* was the firſt, who ever offered *his foot to be kiſſed* by any, who approached him: which raiſed a general indignation through the City, to ſee themſelves reduced to ſuffer ſo great an indignity. Thoſe, who endeavoured to excuſe it, ſaid, that it was not done out of inſolence, but vanity; and for the ſake of ſhewing *his golden ſlipper, ſet with jewels*. *Seneca* declaims upon it, in his uſual manner, as the laſt affront to liberty; and the introduction of *a Perſian ſlavery into the manners of Rome*, [*r*]. Yet this ſervile act, unworthy either to be impoſed or complied with by man, is now the ſtanding ceremonial of *Chriſtian Rome*, and a neceſſary condition of acceſs to the *reigning Popes*, though derived from no better origin, than the frantic pride of a brutal *Pagan* Tyrant.

[*q*] Certum portentum quo eſt ſignificatum, Urbem Romam poſtremo perinde Pontificia Majeſtate, qua nunc late patet, gentibus moderaturam, atque olim potentia imperaſſet. Pol. Verg. Inv. rer. l. iv. 14.

[*r*] Abſoluto & gratias agenti porrexit oſculandum ſiniſtrum pedem — qui excuſant, negant id inſolentiæ cauſa factum; aiunt Sbcculum auratum, imo aureum, margaritis diſtinctum oſtendere eum voluiſſe—natus in hoc, ut mores civitatis Perſica ſervitute mutaret, &c. Senec. de Benef. l. ii. 12.

The

The great variety of their *religious orders and ſocieties of Prieſts* ſeems to have been formed upon the plan of the *old colleges or fraternities of the Augurs, Pontifices, Salii, Fratres Arvales, &c.* The *Veſtal virgins* might furniſh the hint for the *foundation of Nunneries:* and I have obſerved ſomething very like to the *rules and auſterities* of the *monaſtic life*, in the character and manner of ſeveral *Prieſts* of the *Heathens*, who uſed to *live by themſelves, retired from the world, near to the Temple or Oracle of the Deity*, to whoſe particular ſervice they were devoted; as the *Selli*, the *Prieſt of Dodonæan Jove*, a ſelf-mortifying race [*s*].

ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.
Il. xvii. 234.

Whoſe groves the *Selli*, race auſtere, ſurround;
Their feet unwaſh'd, their ſlumbers on the ground. Mr. *Pope.*

But above all, in the old deſcriptions of the *lazy mendicant Prieſts* among the *Heathens*, who uſed

[*s*] Τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς ἀφωρισμένον. Plato in Timæo, p. 1044.

From the character of theſe *Selli*, or as others call them *Elli*, the Monks of the *Pagan* World, ſeated in the fruitful Soil of *Dodona*; abounding, as *Heſiod* deſcribes it, with every thing, that could make life eaſy and happy; and whither no man ever approached them without an offering in his hands, we may learn, whence their ſucceſſors of modern

uſed to travel [*t*] from *houſe to houſe, with ſacks on their backs*; and, from an opinion of their ſanctity, raiſe large contributions of *money, bread, wine, and all kind of victuals, for the ſupport of their fraternity*, we ſee the very picture of the *begging Friars*; who are always about the ſtreet in the *ſame habit*, and on the *ſame errand*, and never fail to carry home with them a *good ſack full of proviſions* for the uſe of their *convent*.

Cicero, in his *book of laws*. reſtrains this practice of *begging*, or *gathering alms*, to *one particular order of Prieſts*, and that only on *certain days*; becauſe, as he ſays [*u*], *it propagates ſuperſtition and impoveriſhes families*. Which, by the way, may let us ſee the policy of the *Church of Rome*, in the great care, that they have taken to *multiply* their *begging orders*.

modern times have derived that peculiar ſkill or preſcriptive right, of chuſing the richeſt part of every country for the place of their ſettlement. Vid. Sophoc. Trachin. p. 340. v. 1175. Edit. Turneb. & Schol. Triclin.

[*t*] Stipes æreas, immo vero & argenteas, multis certatim offerentibus ſinu recepere patulo; nec non & vini cadum & lactis & caſeos avidis animis corradentes & in ſaculos huic quæſtui de induſtria præparatos farcientes, &c. Apuleius Metam. l. viii. p. 262.

[*u*] Stipem ſuſtulimus, niſi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idææ Matris excepimus: Implet enim ſuperſtitione animos, exhaurit domos. Cic. de Legib. l. ii. 9, 16.

I could eaſily carry on this parallel, through many more inſtances of the *Pagan* and *Popiſh ceremonies*, if I had not already ſaid enough, to ſhew from what ſpring all that ſuperſtition flows, which we ſo juſtly charge them with, and how vain an attempt it muſt be, to juſtify, by the principles of *Chriſtianity*, a *worſhip* formed upon the plan, and after the very pattern of pure *Heatheniſm*. I ſhall not trouble myſelf with enquiring at what time, and in what manner theſe ſeveral corruptions were introduced into the *Church*: whether they were contrived by the *intrigues and avarice of Prieſts*, who found their advantage in reviving and propagating *impoſtures*, which had been of old ſo profitable to *their predeceſſors*: or whether the *genius of Rome* was ſo ſtrongly turned to *fanaticiſm* and *ſuperſtition*, that they were forced, in condeſcenſion to the humor of the people, to dreſs up their *new religion* to the modes and fopperies of the *old*. This, I know, is the *principle*, by which their *own Writers* defend themſelves, as oft as they are attacked on this head.

Aringhus, in his account of *ſubterraneous Rome*, acknowledges this conformity between the *Pagan* and *Popiſh rites*, and defends the admiſſion of the *ceremonies* of *Heatheniſm* into the *ſervice of the Church*, by the authority of their *wiſeſt Popes*

Popes and *Governors* [*w*], " who found it " neceſſary, *he ſays*, in the converſion of the " *Gentiles*, to diſſemble and wink at many " things, and yield to the times; and not to " uſe force againſt cuſtoms, which the people " were ſo obſtinately fond of; nor to think of " extirpating at once every thing, that had the " appearance of profane; but to ſuperſede in " ſome meaſure the obligation of the ſacred " laws; till theſe converts, convinced by de- " grees, and informed of the whole truth, by " the ſuggeſtions of the Holy Spirit, ſhould be " content to ſubmit in earneſt to the Yoak of " *Chriſt*."

It is by the ſame principles, that the *Jeſuits* defend the *conceſſions*, which they make at this day to their *Proſelytes* in *China*; who, where pure Chriſtianity will not go down, never ſcruple to compound the matter between *Jeſus* and *Confucius*; and prudently allow, what the *ſtiff old Prophets* ſo impoliticly condemned, a *partnerſhip between God and* Baal: of which, though they have often been accuſed at the *Court of*

[*w*] Ac maximi ſubinde Pontifices quamplurima primâ quidem facie diſſimulanda duxere, optimum videlicet rati tempori deferendum eſſe; ſuadebant quippe ſibi, haud ullam adverſus gentilitios ritus vim, utpote qui mordicus a fidelibus retinebantur, adhibendam eſſe; neque ullatenus enitendum, ut quicquid profanos ſaperet mores, omnino tolleretur, quin imo quam maxima utendum lenitate, ſacrarumque legum ex parte intermittendum imperium arbitrabantur, &c. Vid. Aring. Rom. Subter. tom. i. l. i. c. 21.

Rome, yet I have never heard, that their conduct has been cenſured. But this kind of reaſoning, how plauſible ſoever it may be, with regard to the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, or to nations juſt converted from *Paganiſm*, is ſo far from excuſing the preſent *Gentiliſm* of the *Church of Rome*, that it is a direct condemnation of it; ſince the neceſſity alledged for the practice, if ever it had any real force, has not, at leaſt for many ages paſt, at all ſubſiſted: and their toleration of ſuch practices, however uſeful at firſt for reconciling *Heathens* to *Chriſtianity*, ſeems now to be the readieſt way, to drive *Chriſtians* back again to *Heatheniſm*.

But it is high time for me to conclude, being perſuaded, if I do not flatter myſelf too much, that I have ſufficientiy made good, what I at firſt undertook to prove; an *exact Conformity*, or *Uniformity* rather, of *Worſhip*, between *Popery* and *Paganiſm*: for ſince, as I have ſhewn above, we ſee the *preſent people of Rome* worſhipping in the *ſame Temples*; at the *ſame Altars*; ſometimes the *ſame Images*; and always with the *ſame Ceremonies*, as the *old Romans*; they muſt have more *charity*, as well as *ſkill in diſtinguiſhing*, than I pretend to have, who can abſolve them from the *ſame ſuperſtition* and *idolatry*, of which we condemn their *Pagan Anceſtors*.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER I had ſent theſe Papers to the Preſs, I happened to meet with a Paragraph, in *Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes*, which obliges me to detain the reader a little longer, in order to obviate the prejudices, which the authority of ſo celebrated a writer may probably inject to the diſadvantage of my argument; which, though it has been maintained, as he obſerves, by *many able writers*, he has taken occaſion to condemn, as an *utter miſtake, and a miſapplication of their time and learning, in the purſuit of a falſe principle.*

The paragraph runs thus;

" There is nothing obſtructs our diſcoveries " in antiquity, (as far as relates to the know- " ledge of mankind) ſo much as that falſe " though undiſputed principle, that the general " cuſtoms of men (in which a common like- " neſs connects, as in a chain, the manners of " it's inhabitants, quite round the globe) are " all, whether civil or religious, traductive " from one another. Whereas in truth, the " original of this ſimilitude, is the voice of one " common nature, improved by reaſon, or de- " baſed by ſuperſtition, ſpeaking to all it's " tribes of individuals. But it is no wonder

" men have been miſled by this falſe principle. " For when a cuſtom, whoſe meaning lies not " very obvious, requires ſome account to be " given of it's original, it is much eaſier, to tell " us, that this people derived it from that, than " rightly to explain to us, what common prin- " ciple of reaſon or ſuperſtition gave birth to it, " in both. How many able Writers have em- " ployed their time and learning to prove *Chri-* " *ſtian Rome* to have borrowed their ſuperſti- " tions from the *Pagan City?* They have indeed " ſhewn an exact and ſurprizing likeneſs in a " great variety of inſtances. But the concluſion " from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic " borrowed from the Heathen, as plauſible, as " it ſeems, is, I think, *utterly miſtaken.* To " offer at preſent onely this plain reaſon, the " riſe of the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms in queſtion " were many ages later than the converſion of " that Imperial City to the Chriſtan faith: con- " ſequently, at the time of their introduction, " there were no *Pagan* prejudices, that required " ſuch a compliance from the ruling Clergy. " For this, and other reaſons, therefore, I am " rather induced to believe, that the very ſame " ſpirit of ſuperſtition, operating in equal cir- " cumſtances, made both *Papiſts*, and *Pagans* " truly originals, *&c.* [*a*]."

I am at a loſs to conceive, what could move my learned friend, to paſs ſo ſevere a cenſure

[*a*] Div. Legation. Vol. II. Par. i. p. 355.

upon

upon an argument, which has hitherto been eſpouſed by all Proteſtants; admitted by many Papiſts, and evaded, rather than contradicted, by any. But whatever was his motive, which, I perſuade myſelf, was no unfriendly one, he will certainly pardon me, if purſuing the full conviction of my mind, I attempt to defend an eſtabliſhed principle, confirmed by ſtrong and numerous facts, againſt an opinion wholly new and ſtrange to me; and which, if it can be ſuppoſed to have any force, overthrows the whole credit and uſe of my preſent work.

To proceed therefore to the conſideration of his reaſoning. He allows, that the writers, who have undertaken, *to deduce the rites of Popery from Paganiſm, have ſhewn an exact and ſurprizing likeneſs between them, in a great variety of inſtances.* This, one would think, is allowing every thing, that the cauſe demands: it is every thing, I dare ſay, that thoſe writers deſire. But this queſtion, according to his notion, is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind; *a ſuperior knowledge of human nature*; which would teach us, that, notwitſtanding all *that exact and ſurprizing likeneſs, the Papiſts are as truly originals as the Pagans; and borrowed nothing at all in reality from their Heathen Anceſtors.*—He offers *one plain reaſon*, in the ſupport of this aſſertion; "*that the riſe of the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms in que-*"*ſtion were many ages later, than the converſion*

" *of Rome to the Chriſtian faith; and conſequent-*
" *ly, at the time of their firſt introduction, there*
" *were no Pagan prejudices, that required ſuch a*
" *compliance from the ruling Clergy.*" But this reaſon is ſo far from being a *plain one*, that, till it be more preciſely ſtated, it will hardly paſs for any reaſon at all. It conſiſts, we ſee, of an *hiſtorical fact*; and of *a conſequence* deduced from it: but till the *Æra of that fact* be ſettled, or *the number of ages* determined, by which *the introduction of thoſe ceremonies* was later than *the converſion of Rome*, it is not poſſible for us to judge of the conſequence, which he draws from it; or to know, whether there were *any Pagan prejudices* ſubſiſting at that time or not; on which the whole force of his reaſon depends.

To ſet this argument therefore in it's proper light, let us take a ſummary view of *the Chriſtian religion in Rome*, from the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, the known æra of it's eſtabliſhment in that Imperial City.

From this Æra then, according to the accounts of all writers, though Chriſtianity became the public and eſtabliſhed religion of the Government, yet it was forced to ſuſtain a perpetual ſtruggle for many ages, againſt the obſtinate efforts of *Paganiſm*; which was openly eſpouſed by ſome of the Emperors; publicly tolerated,

tolerated, and privately favored by others; and connived at in ſome degree by all.

Within thirty years after *Conſtantine*, the *Apoſtate Julian* intirely reſtored it; abrogated all the laws which had been made againſt it; and prohibited the Chriſtians *to teach or propagate the Goſpel* [*b*]. The three Emperors, who next ſucceeded, *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, *Valens*; though they were Chriſtians by profeſſion, were yet wholly *indifferent and neutral between the two religions*; granting an equal indulgence and toleration to them both: and *Gratian*, the fourth, though a ſincere believer, did not think fit *to annul, what Julian had reſtored* [*c*]. He was the firſt however, who refuſed the *title and habit of the Pontifex Maximus*; as giving a kind

[*b*] Petunt etiam, ut illis privilegia deferas, qui loquendi & docendi noſtris communem uſum, Juliani lege proxima denegarunt.——Ambroſ. adv. Symmach. lib. i. ad Valentinianum.

[*c*] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived in that very age, gives this character of the Emperor *Valentinian*; Poſtremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit; quod inter religionum diverſitates medius ſtetit; nec quenquam imquietavit; neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud. Nec interdictis minacibus ſubjectorum cervicem ad id, quod ipſe coluit, inclinabat; ſed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit. lib. xxx. c. 9.

Symmachus, in his memorial to *Valentinian* the IId. ſpeaking with a reference to the five Emperors juſt named ſays; numerentur Principes utriuſque Sectæ, utriuſque Sententiæ: proximus eorum cæremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removit. Symmach. Epiſt. l. x. 54.

of

of ſanction to the old Idolatry. But this affront provoked *the Pagan Prieſthood* ſo highly, that one of them is recorded to have ſaid, *ſince the Emperor refuſes to be our Pontifex, we will very ſhortly take care, that the Pontifex ſhall be Maximus*; which they ſoon after made good, by the murther of *Gratian*, and the advancement of *Maximus*, to the throne [*d*].

In the following reign of *Theodoſius*, whoſe laws were generally ſevere upon the *Pagans*, *Symmachus, the Governor of Rome*, preſented a petition or memorial, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome*, to *Valentinian the younger*, *Theodoſius's* partner in Empire; for leave, *to replace the Altar of Victory in the Senate Houſe*, whence it had been removed by *Gratian*; and to reſtore their ancient privileges and revenues *to the Veſtal virgins* [*e*]. This memorial was anſwered by *St. Ambroſe*; who, in a Letter upon it to the Emperor, obſerves, *that when the petitioners had ſo many Temples and Altars open to them in all the ſtreets of Rome, and particularly an Altar of Victory, where they might freely offer their Sacrifices, it ſeemed to be a mere inſult on Chriſtianity, to demand ſtill one Altar more: and eſpecially in the Senate Houſe, where the greater part were then Chriſtians* [*f*]. Yet it appears from ſome hints in

[*d*] Vid. Jac. Gothofred. De Statu Paganor. ſub Chriſt. Imperatorib. Præf.

[*e*] Vid. Symmach. Epiſt. ibid.

[*f*] Hujus aram ſtrui in Urbis Romæ *Curia* petunt; hoc eſt, quo plures conveniunt *Chriſtiani*. Omnibus in Templis

in another letter, that this *majority of Chriſtians* durſt not venture to oppoſe the petition, but were content to withdraw themſelves only, that they might not be ſaid to have voted for it [*g.*] The petition was rejected by *Valentinian*, againſt the advice of all his Council; but was granted preſently after *by the Uſurper Eugenius*, who murdered and ſucceeded him.

Theodoſius the IId, purſuing the maxims of his Father, publiſhed a law, to puniſh all thoſe, *who were caught in the act of ſacrificing to Idols, with baniſhment and confiſcation of goods:* and when this was not ſufficient to reſtrain them, he made the puniſhment *capital, and ordered their Temples to be demoliſhed.* Yet he prohibited the Chriſtians at the ſame time by another law, from injuring either *their perſons or goods, on the account of their religion, as long as they behaved themſelves quietly, and with due reſpect to the laws* [*h*].

During

plis aræ; ara etiam in templo Victoriarum; quoniam numero delectantur, Sacrificia ſua ubique concelebrant. Quid eſt niſi inſultare fidei, unius aræ ſacrificium vendicare?—Non illis ſatis ſunt lavacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ ſimulacris.—Ambroſ. adv. Symmach. lib. ii. ad Valentin.

[*g*] Ibid. lib. i.

[*h*] Sed hoc Chriſtianis, *qui vel verè ſunt, vel eſſe dicuntur*, ſpecialiter demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis in quiete degentibus,—non audeant manus inferre religionis auctoritate abuſi, &c.

Vid. Jac. Gothofred. de Statu Paganor. leg. xxiv. A. D. 423.

N. B.

During this period therefore, which includes a *full century* from *the converſion of Rome*, in which *the Chriſtians and Pagans* lived promiſcuouſly in every City of the Empire; enjoying, for the greateſt part, not onely the free exerciſe of their ſeveral religions, but an equal ſhare of the honors and magiſtracies of the State, it is evident, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the facts above recited, that there were many *ſtrong prejudices in favor of Paganiſm*, actually ſubſiſting in all ranks of men; which an ambitious and temporizing Clergy would naturally apply to the advantage of their eaſe, their profit, or their power: ſo that, if any of the ceremonies in queſtion were introduced into the Church within this period, their *Pagan origin* cannot be diſputed, and *Mr. Warburton*, I am perſuaded, according to his own reaſoning, will allow *the miſtake* to lie on his ſide.

N. B. This law, which was publiſhed above a Century after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, is addreſſed, in very peculiar terms, *to all Chriſtians, whether real or nominal; whether they were truly ſo, or paſſed only for ſuch.*—Which ſhews us in the firſt place, from what ſource a great part *of thoſe pagan prejudices*, that infected the diſcipline of the Church, would naturally ariſe; *viz.* from the numbers of the pretended converts, who were *Pagans* ſtill in their hearts, and conformed onely through fear, or flattery to the reigning powers: and 2dly, that theſe falſe Chriſtians uſed to cover their hypocriſy by the maſk of an extraordinary zeal, and were the moſt forward to inſult and perſecute both the *Jews* and the *Pagans*.

Let

Let us inquire then in the next place, what light the monuments of thoſe times will afford concerning *the riſe of theſe ceremonies*. But as it is of little moment to the public, to know the exact time of their introduction, ſo I will carry the reader no farther into this ſearch, than will be neceſſary to convince him, that I have not been impoſing upon him *a ſpecious error*, or *fanciful hypotheſis*; grounded on a falſe notion of human nature; but an hiſtorical relation of *the Paganiſm of modern Rome*; deduced from unqueſtionable facts, and the clear teſtimony of Antiquity: and this I ſhall be able to ſhew, as far as there will be occaſion, from ſome of the hints already given in my Letter and my Preface.

Every one knows what a perpetual uſe there was *of Incenſe*: and *ſweet Odors*, in all the Temples of the Heathens. *Tertullian*, ſpeaks of it, as the diſtinguiſhing rite of *Paganiſm*; and declares, *that Idolatry might ſooner be carried on without Idol, than without Incenſe:* and for this reaſon, as he intimates, if *the Perfumers, who furniſhed this Incenſe to the Pagan Altars, continued to carry on that trade, after they had embraced the Chriſtian faith, they were to be rejected from the Church* [*i*], This was the primitive diſci-

[*i*] Si & nunc etiam ſine Idolo opus Idololatriæ incendiis odorum perpetratur — nam facilius ſine Idolo, Idololatria, quam ſine Turarii merce. Apologet. xl.

pline,

pline, before the converſion of *Rome*, when the Church was cautious of admitting into her worſhip, whatever had any relation to the old Idolatry: yet even in this period, *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is commended by *his nameſake of Niſſa*, for, *changing the Pagan Feſtivals into Chriſtian Holydays, the better to draw the Heathens to the religion of Chriſt* [*k*]. But after the eſtabliſhment of *Chriſtianity*, when the policy of complying with the popular prejudices began to prevail among the Clergy; and *the Church*, as *St. Jerom* ſays, *declined as much in it's virtue, as it encreaſed in it's power*, we find not onely *the Incenſe-ſellers* but *the incenſe* itſelf, and *the Thuribulum* taken into the ſervice of *the Chriſtian Altars*, and mentioned by *St. Ambroſe and St. Chryſoſtom*, as of common uſe both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire [*l*].

The *Pagans*, as I have ſhewn, beſides the conſtant uſe of *luſtral water* in their Temples, uſed *to ſprinkle their horſes* with it in the *Circen-*

[*k*] Niſſen. in vit. Greg. Thaumat.

[*l*] Atque utinam nobis *adolentibus Altaria*, ſacrificium deferentibus aſſiſtat Angelus, &c. Ambroſ. in Luc. i.

Diaconus,— λαῷ τὸ θυμιατήριον καὶ τὸ θυμίαμα, &c. Chryſoſt. Liturgia. vid. Beverigii Annot. in Canon. Apoſt. iii.

Some learned men have aſſerted the *uſe of Incenſe* to be *of Apoſtolic* inſtitution, from the authority of *the Apoſtolic Canons*: but the teſtimony of *Tertullian*, quoted above, clearly ſhews, that it was not introduced into the Chriſtian worſhip in his days, and conſequently, as other learned men have with more judgment inferred, that *the Apoſtolic Canons* were the production of a later age.

ſian games, to preſerve them probably from the power of charms or incantations, that might be prepared againſt them by their adverſaries. I have ſhewn likewiſe, how, in imitation of that cuſtom, the practice *of ſprinkling horſes and other animals with Holy-water*, was firſt introduced among Chriſtians, by the authority of *Hilarion, the Monk*; whoſe peculiar doctrine it was, *that the Devil, out of his great hatred to men, and for the ſake of doing them the greater miſchief, uſed to enter even into their cattle, with intent to deſtroy* [*m*]. For when we ſee ſo ſingular a cuſtom continued to this day at *Rome*, by the *Monks of St. Antony*, the Parent of Monkery itſelf, and the friend and contemporary of *Hilarion*; we cannot think it *a miſtake*, to deduce it from an origin; which, from it's great ſucceſs in that firſt trial, is ſaid to have drawn *many Pagans to the faith of Chriſt* [*n*].

St. Jerom takes notice, that *Paganiſm had many obſervances, which, to the reproach even of Chriſtians, implied a great ſtrictneſs of manners and diſcipline. Juno*, ſays he, *had her Prieſteſſes, devoted to one huſband: Veſta her perpetual Virgins, and other Idols their Prieſts alſo, under vows of*

[*m*] Docebat autem Senex, hominum cauſa, Diabolum etiam jumenta corripere, &c. Hieron. tom. iv. Par. ii. p. 82. Edit. Bened.

[*n*] Indubitata ergo victoria & illis & multis retrò Circenſibus plurimis fidei occaſio fuit. Ibid. p. 80.

chaſtity

chaſtity [*o*]. *To wipe off* this reproach therefore from the *Chriſtian* Church, *Monaſteries and Nunneries* began to be multiplied in this age, through all parts of the Chriſtian world, recommended chiefly by the writings and authority of *St. Jerom* [*p*]. *Vigilantius*, who lived towards the end of the 4th *Century*, *not long after the converſion of Rome*, publicly charged the ruling Clergy *with Idolatry and Paganizing*, on the account of ſeveral *Heatheniſh cuſtoms*, introduced at that time into the Church; particularly, *the vows of chaſtity impoſed upon the Clergy*; *the veneration of reliques*; *and the lighting up of candles to them, in broad day-light*. "We ſee, ſays he, "in effect, a *Pagan rite* introduced into our "Churches, under the pretext of religion; "when heaps of *wax candles* are lighted up in "clear ſunſhine, and people every where kiſ- "ſing and adoring, I know not what, con- "temptible duſt, preſerved in a little veſſel, and "wrapped up in precious linen. Theſe men "do great honor truly to the bleſſed Martyrs, "by lighting up *paultry candles* to thoſe, whom "the Lamb, in the midſt of the throne, illu-

[*o*] Quid nos oportet facere, in quorum condemnationem habet, & Juno Univiras, & Veſta Virgines, & alia Idola continentes? Ibid. tom. iv. Par. i. 314. It. Par. ii. p. 154. & 744.

[*p*] Certe flos quidam & precioſiſſimus lapis inter Eccleſiaſtica ornamenta, Monachorum & Virginum chorus eſt. Hier. t. iv. Par. ii. p. 551.

Initum eſt inter Monachos conſilium, nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia diverſis cellulis habitabant. Ib. p. 44.

"minates

"minates with all the luſtre of his majeſty [*q*]." *St. Jerom*, who anſwers him, does not deny the practice, nor it's being *borrowed from the Pagans*, but defends it. *That*, ſays he, *was once done to Idols, and was then to be deteſted; but this is done to the Martyrs, and is therefore to be received* [*r*]. *Vigilantius* appears to have had ſeveral *Biſhops* and *Preſbyters* on his ſide in this controverſy, and particularly *Ruffinus*; yet the Church in general was ſo ſtrongly infected at this time with *Pagan prejudices*, that his remonſtrances were treated with no better terms, than *heretical, impious, and diabolical* [*s*].

Upon the converſion of the Empire to the Chriſtian faith, when the Church found itſelf ſupported by the laws, and inveſted with authority; it is natural to imagine, that one of the firſt acts of her power would be, to render all due honors to the memory of thoſe *Martyrs*, by whoſe blood ſhe had obtained it. This therefore was the peculiar zeal, and reigning devotion of that age: in conſequence of which it was a kind of faſhion for the new Converts, who were of eminent birth and fortunes, to build Churches at their own expence, to the honor of the *Martyrs*, and for a repoſitory of

[*q*] Hieron. ib. p. 282.

[*r*] Illud fiebat Idolis, & idcirco deteſtandum eſt: hoc fit Martyribus, & idcirco recipiendum eſt. Ibid. 284.

[*s*] Proh nefas! Epiſcopos ſui ſceleris dicitur habere conſortes. Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 281. Oper. t. iv. Par. ii.

their bones: which, after the manner of *the Pagans*, they affected alſo to adorn with *paintings*; repreſenting the ſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, and eſpecially the acts of thoſe *Martyrs*, to whom the Churches were conſecrated; in oppoſition to the fabulous acts of the *Old Heroes*, or pretended *Deities*, with which *the Heathen Temples* were uſually painted.

Thus *Paulinus*, a Convert from Paganiſm, of Senatorial rank, celebrated for his parts and learning, and who died afterwards *Biſhop of Nola*, rebuilt in a ſplendid manner his Epiſcopal Church, dedicated to *Felix the Martyr*; on whoſe portico's were *painted the miracles of Moſes and of Chriſt*, together with the acts of *Felix*, and the other *Martyrs*, whoſe *reliques* were there depoſited. He gives a ſhort deſcription of theſe paintings in one of his Poems; where, to obviate an objection, that might probably be made to this *new and unuſual method*, as he calls it, *of painting Churches*, he ſays, "that "it was done with a deſign, to draw the rude "multitude, habituated to the profane rites of "Paganiſm, to a knowledge and good opinion "of the Chriſtian doctrine; by learning from "theſe pictures, what they were not capable of "learning from books, the lives and acts of "the Chriſtian Saints [*t*]." Thus *Sulpicius* alſo, another

[*t*] Forte requiratur quanam ratione gerendi
Sederit hæc nobis ſententia, *pingere ſanctas*
Raro more domos, animantibus adſimulatis.
Accipite,

another noble Convert, and *Paulinus*'s friend, built two *Baſilica's*, or ſpacious Churches, with *a Baptiſtery* between them, in which was painted, on the one ſide, *St. Martin*, whoſe life alſo he wrote; and on the other, his living friend *Paulinus* [*u*].

Thus were *pictures* or *Images* introduced into the Chriſtian Church, about the end of the 4th, or the beginning of the 5th Century, by the *Pagan Converts*; who ſeem to have vied with each other, in the magnificence of building, adorning, and painting the Churches of the

Accipite; & paucis tentabo exponere cauſas.
Quos agat huc *Sancti Felicis* gloria cœtus
Obſcurum nulli; ſed turba frequentior his eſt
Ruſticitas non caſſa fide; neque docta legendi:
Hæc adſueta diu ſacris ſervire profanis
Ventre Deo, tandem convertitur advena Chriſto;
Dum ſanctorum opera in Chriſto miratur aperta.
Cernite quam multi coeant ex omnibus agris, &c.
Vid. S. Paulini Oper. Nat. ix.

Pope Gregory, called the *Great*, about two centuries later, makes the ſame apology alſo for *Images* or *Pictures* in Churches; declaring them to have been introduced for the ſake of *the Pagans*; that thoſe, who did not know, and could not read the Scriptures, might learn from them what they ought to worſhip. Unde & præcipue *Gentibus* pro lectione, pictum eſt, &c. Epiſt. l. ix. c. 9.

[*u*] Recte enim in loco refectionis humanæ *Martinus* pingitur, qui cœleſtis hominis imaginem perfecta Chriſti imitatione portavit; ut deponentibus in lavacro terrenæ imaginis vetuſtatem, imitanda cœleſtis animæ occurrat effigies. Noſtræ vero quis illic locus eſt, &c. Vid. ib. Epiſt. ad Sever. xii.

ſeveral Martyrs [*x*]. Their deſign was, to do honor to the memory of thoſe *Martyrs*; and to edify the people by the example of their lives; but above all, as *Paulinus*, one of the firſt Introducers of them, declares; "to draw the "Heathens the more eaſily to the faith of "Chriſt, ſince by flocking in crouds to gaze "at the finery of theſe paintings, and by ex- "plaining to each other the ſtories there repre- "ſented, they would gradually acquire a re- "verence for that religion, which inſpired ſo "much virtue and piety into it's profeſſors." But theſe compliances, as *Biſhop Stillingfleet* obſerves, were attended with very bad conſequences; ſince *Chriſtianity became at laſt, by that means, to be nothing elſe but reformed Paganiſm, as to it's divine worſhip* [*y*]: and as the learned *Mr. Turretin* alſo, deſcribing the ſtate of Chriſtianity in this very age, ſays, "the "Empire was brought over to the faith, "but the Church alſo infected with the pomp "of the Empire; the *Pagans* were con-

[*x*] Tu vero etiam Baptiſterium Baſilicis duabus interpoſitum condidiſti; ut nos in horum quoque operum, quæ viſibiliter extruuntur, ædificatione ſuperares. Sed Domino gratias, qui dedit nobis in quo & vinci victoriam duceremus. Vid. ibid.

[*y*] See *Biſhop Stillingfleet*'s Defence of the charge of Idolatry againſt the Romaniſts, Vol. v. of his Works, p. 459. in which learned and excellent Treatiſe, the reader will find the whole queſtion examined to the bottom, and demonſtrably proved againſt the Church of *Rome*.

"verted

" verted to Chriſt, but the worſhip of Chriſt " alſo depraved to the faſhion of *Paganiſm* [z]."

I need not trouble the reader with any more teſtimonies of this ſort, which the writers of all times would abundantly furniſh: the facts already produced ſufficiently prove, that it is *no miſtake* to affirm, *that the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen*; or that *Pagan ceremonies* were introduced into the Church, while there were *ſtrong prejudices ſubſiſting* in favor of them: which, from theſe beginnings, have been operating in it ever ſince, with more or leſs effect, in proportion to the decay of it's diſcipline, and the corruption of its rulers, till they have perfected that form and Syſtem of worſhip, which we now diſtinguiſh by the name of *Popery*.

From this view then of the queſtion, as it is now placed in it's true light, it appears impoſſible, in any ſenſe whatſoever, *that the Papiſts could be originals*, in their uſe of thoſe ceremonies. From the firſt promulgation of the Goſpel, as all hiſtory informs us, there was a perpetual conteſt between *the Pagan and Chriſtian rites*, through a long ſucceſſion of ages; in which *the Pagan rites* were forcibly impoſed upon the Chriſtians, by the *Pagan Emperors*; rejected

[z] Imperio ad fidem adducto, ſed & Imperii pompa Eccleſiam inficiente: Ethnicis ad Chriſtum converſis, ſed & Chriſti religione ad Ethnicæ forman depravata, &c. Orat. Academ. De variis Chriſt. Rel. fatis.

again in their turn by the *Chriſtian Emperors*; and all of them diſtinctly marked out and deſcribed at different times by the *Imperial laws* ſo as the Chriſtians in all ages might clearly know and avoid them. For example; the laws of *Theodoſius*, as I have already obſerved, forbad all people, under ſevere penalties, *to light up candles, burn incenſe, or hang up garlands to ſenſeleſs images* [*a*]. Now theſe laws, from the time of their publication, have been in the conſtant poſſeſſion of the *Romiſh Church*; perpetually read, commented and publiſhed by their

[*a*] Nullus omnino—in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, ſenſu carentibus ſimulacris—accendat lumina, imponat thura ſerta ſuſpendat, &c. Vid. Jac. Gothofred. De Stat. Paganor, Leg. xii. p. 15.

Notwithſtanding this prohibition *of the ceremonies*, here ſpecified, *to the Pagans*, it is very remarkable, that they were actually in uſe in the *Chriſtian* Church, at the ſame time, and under the ſame Emperor, as it appears by the teſtimonies produced above. This was the effect of a political compliance with *the Pagan prejudices*, that *the Pagans*, when no longer allowed to perform their favorite rites to their Idols, might be induced the more eaſily to embrace the faith of Chriſt, by a liberty of performing them *at the altars, and to the honor of the Martyrs*; where there was no application of them however to *Idols* or *Images*, which, though they now began to be introduced into the Church, yet had no religious worſhip paid to them in this age. But after ſo large a conceſſion, it was not eaſy to ſtop, till the whole pageantry of the old Idolatry was reſtored, as we now ſee it exerciſed in *Popiſh* countries, with all it's pomp *of candles, incenſe, garlands*, &c. applied again directly to the worſhip of *ſenſeleſs Images*.

Clergy

Clergy [*b*]; ſo that, when the particular rites, therein prohibited, were introduced into the Chriſtian worſhip, in what age ſoever we ſhould ſuppoſe it to have happened, the introducers could not be ignorant of their being *Pagan rites*; and conſequently could not be *originals*, or inventors, but, as I have affirmed in my Letter, the *meer borrowers* of them from their *Pagan Anceſtors*.

I will not purſue this point any farther, how much ſoever the occaſion may invite me. I have no deſire to enter into controverſy with any man; much leſs with one, whoſe friendſhip I value, and whoſe uncommon abilities I ſhall ſhall always eſteem. What I have thrown together haſtily in this Poſtſcript, will be conſidered, I hope, as a neceſſary act of defence; not due ſo much to myſelf, as to the judgement of the public, and the merit of an old argument, that has long been of ſervice to the Proteſtant cauſe; and which, in all ages of the Church, if it had been attended to, as it ought, would have prevented the admiſſion of thoſe corruptions, which, at this day, ſo groſly deform the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian worſhip, through the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world.

[*b*] *Paulinus*, the Biſhop of *Nola*, above mentioned, publiſhed a ſort of *Panegyric* upon the Emperor *Theodoſius*, containing a particular defence or apology for his laws: In relation to which, St. *Jerom*, in a letter to him, ſays, *Happy Theodoſius, who has ſuch an Orator of Chriſt for his Defender. You have illuſtrated his dignity, and conſecrated the utility of his laws to future ages.* Hieron. ad Paul. Op. t. iv. p. 567. init.

AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

Lord Biſhop of LONDON's Diſcourſes

CONCERNING

The Uſe and Intent of PROPHECY.

WITH

Some curſory Animadverſions on his late APPENDIX, or ADDITIONAL DISSERTATION,

CONTAINING

A farther Inquiry into the Moſaic Account of the FALL.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE Lord Biſhop of LONDON's Diſcourſes ON THE Uſe and intent of Prophecy.

THE Reader perhaps may wonder, that theſe Diſcourſes, which I am going to examine, concerning *the Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*, publiſhed ſo many years ago by Dr. *Sherlock*, now Biſhop of *London*, and ſince corrected and inlarged by him in ſeveral ſucceſſive editions, ſhould meet with a Cenſurer at laſt ſo hardy, as to call the merit of them into queſtion. But the truth is, I had never read them till very lately; or otherwiſe theſe animadverſions might have made their appearance probably much earlier. My omiſſion however to read them did not flow from any contempt either of the ſubject, or of the Author's capacity to adorn it. I know the ſubject to be important; and, for that reaſon, did not chuſe to take my notion of it upon truſt: I knew His Lordſhip alſo

to be eminently qualified, to dreſs up any ſubject into any form, which would beſt ſerve his own views, and was jealous of warping my judgement by ſome biaſs, which his authority might be apt to imprint: for as far as my experience has reached, I have ever found authority a treacherous guide to a ſearcher after truth; and theories in all Sciences, the chief obſtacles of real knowledge.

In queſtions therefore, relating to the evidences of the Chriſtian religion, inſtead of paying any regard to the confident aſſertions of angry diſputants, who generally come determined to ſupport the particular ſyſtems, which are embraced by their own party: it has been my cuſtom, to recurr directly to the Scriptures, as the common ſource of all religious opinions to Chriſtians, and the ſole ſtandard, by which the truth of them can be tried. Thus when the Nature of Prophecy, conſidered as an evidence of the Goſpel, was made the ſubject of a controverſy, which gave birth to theſe ſame Diſcourſes, I endeavoured to inform myſelf, what ſort of character was given to it in the New Teſtament, and what uſe was actually made of it by Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles, towards illuſtrating the divinity of his miſſion: and having ſettled in my mind a notion of it, agreeable to the teſtimonies of the ſacred writers, I thought it an idle curioſity and waſt of time, to inquire, what any modern Divine had preached

or written about it; becauſe the whole, that can be known authentically concerning it's relation to Chriſtianity, muſt be learnt from thoſe, who *firſt* planted Chriſtianity, and were inſtructed by the Author of it, on what foundation it reſted, and how far the argument of Prophecy was uſefull to it's propagation and ſupport.

Theſe Diſcourſes therefore might have paſſed ſtill unregarded by me, if they had not been accidentally recommended to my peruſal, by a late converſation, in which they were urged in contradiction to ſomething advanced on the ſubject of Prophecy, which I took to be both reaſonable and important. This gave me an inclination to review the whole queſtion, for the ſake either of confirming or correcting my own notion of it; and to take theſe Diſcourſes at the ſame time into conſideration; eſpecially, as it would free me from the reproach of ſlighting that information, which I might poſſibly receive from them. Upon this taſk I ſoon after entered, and found this capital work of his Lordſhip to be juſt ſuch as I expected; exhibiting a ſpecies of reaſoning peculiar to himſelf, ever ſubtil and refined, yet never convincing; and proper rather to perplex, than to illuſtrate the notion of Prophecy; and to amuſe rather, than inſtruct an iniquiſitive reader. I found much art and pains employed, to dreſs up an imaginary ſcheme, of which I had not diſcovered the leaſt trace in any of the four Goſpels; and in which,

which, as far as I was able to judge, he ſeemed to have rejected the whole evidence of Prophecy, as it was underſtood and applied by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts; and to have ſubſtituted in it's place a romantic ſyſtem, or fancifull chain of antediluvian prædictions, as the ſole ground, on which any ſolid argument of the prophetick kind could be urged in favor of Chriſtianity.

This, though it muſt needs appear ſtrange in Diſcourſes delivered from the pulpit, He prepares us to expect, by a ſhort Preface, in which He ſays—"They who conſider the "Prophecies under the Old Teſtament, as ſo "many prædictions onely, independent on each "other, can never form a right judgement, of "the argument of the truth of Chriſtianity, "drawn from this topick, nor be able to ſatisfy "themſelves, when they are confronted with "the objections of unbelievers. It is an eaſy "matter, for men of leiſure and tolerable parts, "to find difficulties in particular prædictions, "and in the application of them made by "writers, who lived many hundred years ago, "and who had many antient books and records "of the Jewiſh Church, from which they drew "many paſſages and perhaps ſome Prophecies, "which books and records we have not, to "inable us to underſtand and to juſtify their "applications, &c. [a]."

What

[a] Theſe words are tranſcribed from a Preface, prefixed to the third Edition of the Diſcourſes, which was the onely

What the Biſhop here declares, relates, as he afterwards ſignifies, to the caſe of a certain Free-

onely one, that I made uſe of, or had then ſeen. I have ſince learnt, that there are two later Editions, in which the Preface is omitted, though without any obſervable alteration in the Diſcourſes themſelves, or any reaſon given for that omiſſion; which muſt needs afford matter of ſpeculation to the reader. The purpoſe of the Preface was, to give the reader a proper notion of the ſubject of the Diſcourſes, and of his manner of treating it. If it was withdrawn therefore, on the account of any change of ſentiments with regard to it, we might have expected from him ſome little eclairciſſment on that head, eſpecially ſince the Diſcourſes, to which it related, continue ſtill unchanged. Or if, after three ſucceſſive Editions, the Preface was dropped, as being judged at laſt too ſlight and trivial for a performance of ſuch importance; that, though it would have been a good reaſon for not giving it at the firſt, is but a paultry one for recalling it, when once given. We love to retain every ſcrap of a celebrated writer, in it's natural and original form, and, after twenty years poſſeſſion, think it an injury to be deprived of it. As His Lordſhip however had ſome motive undoubtedly, for taking a ſtep ſo unuſual, ſo the reader will naturally be gueſſing, what it might probably be; and many will be apt to think that the paſſage, which I have cited from it, carries in it ſo direct a condemnation of that uſe of ſingle and ſeparate Prophecies, which was made by the Evangeliſts, that it was omitted for that very reaſon, as tending to raiſe ſcruples in people's minds, to the diſadvantage of His Lordſhip's ſcheme. But this offence, though now removed, as far as it was given by the Preface, remains ſtill in it's full force in the body of the Diſcourſes. The obvious tendency of which, as every one muſt ſee, is, to repreſent the weakneſs of all that prophetic evidence, which the Evangeliſts have applied, to evince the truth of the Goſpel.

In

Freethinking Author, who had ridiculed the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, which are

In the concluſion of the ſame Preface, His Lordſhip expreſſes ſome diffidence, concerning the truth or ſolidity of an hypotheſis, which he labours to inculcate through his whole fourth Diſcourſe: *viz.* "That the curſe denounced "by God againſt the earth, for the tranſgreſſion of our "firſt Parents, was compleated, and finally ceaſed at the "Deluge, when it's original fertility was reſtored to it, by "an expreſs covenant with *Noah*, according to a Prophecy "of his father *Lamech*." [*Gen.* v. 28.] Now though nothing can be more weak and irrational than this hypotheſis, yet when the Author propoſes it with modeſty, as a conjecture, or haſty thought, not duly conſidered by him, our diſguſt of courſe is ſoftened, and the ſeverity of our criticiſm checked: but as the caſe now ſtands, when we ſee a moſt ridiculous conceit enforced with the greateſt zeal and ſerioufneſs in an Epiſcopal Sermon, and find the ſole excuſe, which could be made, and which had been made for it, deliberately ſuppreſſed, we are provoked of courſe to treat it with all that contempt, which it juſtly deſerves.

But to ſay the truth, I have never obſerved a ſtronger inſtance of the public patience and blind deference to the authority of a Great name, than in the caſe of theſe very Diſcourſes; which, though in all parts greatly exceptionable, and furniſhing matter of offence in every page, have yet paſſed through many Editions, not onely without reproof, but with ſome degree even of approbation. And it was this experience perhaps of what the world would bear, which made His Lordſhip reſolve to withdraw his Preface, and to treat us no longer with any ceremony; having ſeen, that notwithſtanding the conſciouſneſs, which he had declared, of being in the wrong, the public was ſtill diſpoſed to think him in the right, and that his nonſenſe would go down with them, without giving him the trouble of making an excuſe for it.

cited

cited in the New, as trifling and impertinent, and bearing no ſort of relation to the particular caſes or perſons, to which they are applied: yet in this attempt, that Author has not conſidered thoſe Prophecies in any other method, nor under any other character, than that, in which they were conſidered by the Evangeliſts themſelves, who applied them, *ſingle and independently on each other*, to this or that occaſion, as ſo many different arguments for the general truth of the Goſpel; ſo that by condemning his manner of conſidering them, His Lordſhip condemns that of the Evangeliſts at the ſame time: but ſince the uſe, which was made of Prophecy in the New Teſtament, is the ſole rule, by which we can form a juſt notion of it, or determine the propriety either of His Lordſhip's ſcheme, or of theſe Animadverſions upon it, it will be neceſſary in the firſt place, to draw out a diſtinct account, of what thoſe ſacred Writers have delivered concerning it.

It is affirmed then by the teſtimonies of all the Evangeliſts, how *Jeſus* himſelf conſtantly taught, that his perſon and character were particularly foretold and marked out *by Moſes and all the later Prophets*, as the *Meſſiah*, or that great Prophet, who was to come: and that he came accordingly, as it had been foretold to them, *not to deſtroy the law and the Prophets, but to fulfill them.* [*b*] Thus in an expoſtulation

[*b*] Matt. v. 17.

with the Jews, for their obſtinate rejection of him, He exhorts them *to ſearch the Scriptures* for the proofs of his character and miſſion, for *in them*, ſays he, *ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they which teſtify of me.* To which he immediately ſubjoins, *there is one, that accuſeth you, even* Moſes, *in whom you truſt. For had ye believed* Moſes, *ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me* [*c*]. When he was riſen alſo from the dead, and appeared to the two Diſciples going to *Emmaus*, who ſtill doubted of his reſurrection, though it had been reported to them by the women; "He ſaid unto them, "O fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that "the prophets have ſpoken: ought not Chriſt "to have ſuffered, and to enter into his glory? "And *beginning at* Moſes *and all the Prophets*, "he expounded unto them, in all the Scrip-"tures, the things concerning himſelf [*d*]."

Here then we ſee our Lord grounding the authority of his miſſion on the evidence of Prophecy; and declaring that *Moſes and the Prophets* had written and teſtified of him, in a manner ſo expreſs, that thoſe, who believed *Moſes*, muſt of courſe, if they were conſiſtent, believe alſo in him. In proof of which, he appeals to the Scriptures; exhorts the Jews to ſearch them; and puts the trial of his veracity, on the iſſue of that ſearch: and this, we may imagine, was

[*c*] John v. 39—45. [*d*] Luke xxiv. 25.

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the ſubject of all his diſcourſes, as oft as he went into the Synagogues, according to his conſtant cuſtom, in every place whither he came. The Evangeliſts however, though they all agree in affirming this, to have been his general way of arguing with the Jews, yet have recorded but a few of thoſe particular Prophecies, which were alledged by him on ſuch occaſions, as prefigurative of his character and miſſion.

For inſtance; at *Nazareth*, the place of his education and ordinary reſidence, he applied to himſelf a Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, in which the principal characters, aſcribed by the Jews to the Meſſiah, are particularly enumerated: "For "upon his entrance into the Synagogue on the "Sabbath, the book of the prophet *Iſaiah* being "put into his hands, he opened it, and found "the place, where it was written: The ſpirit "of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he hath "anointed me to preach the Goſpel to the poor; "he hath ſent me to heal the broken-hearted; "to preach deliverance to the Captives, and "recovering of ſight to the blind; and to ſet "at liberty them, that are bruiſed; to preach "the acceptable year of the Lord——He then "cloſed the book, and gave it again to the "Miniſter, and ſat down; and all the eyes of "the Synagogue being faſtened upon him, he "began to ſay unto them, *This Day is this "Scripture fulfilled in your ears.*" On which he preached to them in ſuch an affecting manner,

" that they all bare him witneſs, and wondered " at the gracious words, which proceeded out " of his mouth [*e*]." In another place alſo, ſpeaking to the multitude concerning the character of *John the Baptiſt*, he affirms him to be the forerunner, ſent by God to diſpoſe the world for the reception of his Goſpel, telling them, *This is he of whom it is written, Behold I ſend my meſſenger before thy face, which ſhall prepare thy way before thee* [*f*]. In one of his Sermons alſo to the unbelieving Jews, He declares himſelf, to be denoted by *that corner-ſtone*, of which the Pſalmiſt prophetically ſays, *The ſtone, which the builders rejected, the ſame is become the head of the corner* [*g*]. On another occaſion, where he was foretelling to his Diſciples the treachery of *Judas*, he ſignifies it, to have been permitted, *that the Scripture might be fulfilled, where it is ſaid, He that eateth bread with me, lifteth up his heel againſt me* [*h*]. And when he was intimating to them the approach of his death and the manner of it, he applies the words *of Iſaiah*, as then ready to be fulfilled in him, ſaying; *that this, which is written, muſt yet be accompliſhed in me: And he was reckoned among the tranſgreſſors; for the things concerning me have an end* [*i*]. There are too or three inſtances more, where he affirms the words of *Iſaiah*, and of the Pſalmiſt, to be fulfilled by the infidelity of

[*e*] Luke iv. 16. [*f*] Matt. xi. 10. Luke vii. 27.
[*g*] Luke xx. 17. [*h*] John xiii. 1, 8.
[*i*] Luke xxii. 37.

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the Jews, who would not receive him upon the teſtimony of their own Prophets. *In them*, ſays he, *is fulfilled the prophecy of* Iſaias, *which ſaith; By hearing ye ſhall hear and ſhall not underſtand, and ſeeing ye ſhall ſee and ſhall not perceive* [*k*]. Again; when he was betrayed by *Judas* into the hands of thoſe who came to ſeize him, *Peter* having drawn his ſword, and wounded one of the company, *Jeſus* reproved him, by ſaying; "Put up thy ſword——thinkeſt thou, "that I cannot now pray to my Father, and "he ſhall preſently give me more than twelve "legions of Angels? but how then ſhall the "Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it muſt be?" to which he preſently adds, "But all this was "done, that the Scriptures of the Prophets "might be fulfilled [*l*]," plainly ſignifying, that there was not any circumſtance of his life, which had not been foretold in ſuch a manner, that the accompliſhment of it, by it's conformity with the prediction, might anſwer the purpoſe intended by God of demonſtrating the Divinity of his character.

Laſtly; after his reſurrection, having ſpent forty days ſtill on earth, in confirming and inſtructing his Apoſtles, in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and being juſt ready to aſcend into heaven, and now giving them his laſt inſtructions, "He ſaid unto them; Theſe

[*k*] Matt. xiii. 14. [*l*] Matt. xxvi. 26.

"are the words, which I ſpake unto you, "while I was yet with you, that all things "muſt be fulfilled, which were written in the "Law of *Moſes*, *and in the Prophets*, *and in the* "*Pſalms concerning me.* Then opened he their "underſtandings, that they might underſtand "the Scriptures; and ſaid unto them, Thus it "is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to "ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third "day; and that repentance and remiſſion of "ſins ſhould be preached in his name among "all Nations, beginning at *Jeruſalem:* and ye "are witneſſes of theſe things [*m*]."

Theſe inſtances of the uſe of Prophecy, as it was applied by *Jeſus* himſelf, ſufficiently ſhew, that the antient Prophecies were conſidered by him ſingly and independently, as ſo many diſtinct arguments, for the truth of his miſſion; and conſequently, that thoſe, who conſider them in the ſame light, may in contradiction to what his Lordſhip aſſerts, form a right judgement of this argument, and make a right uſe of it in favor of Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding all the objections, with which it may be confronted by Unbelievers.

But if any doubt remain ſtill on this point, it will be abundantly cleared up by the practice of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, and by the uſe

[*m*] Luke xxiv. 44.

which

which they made of Prophecy, after they had been fully inſtructed and enlightened upon it, as well by the example, as the repeated leſſons of their Maſter to the laſt moment of his continuance on earth. The Evangeliſts wrote their ſeveral Goſpels for the ſake of tranſmitting to all poſterity the genuine evidences, on which the authority of the Chriſtian doctrine was founded; among theſe, the argument drawn from Prophecy appears to have been applied by them, as the moſt effectual and convincing to the Jews, to whom alone the Goſpel was preached by Chriſt himſelf, and in the firſt place afterwards by his Apoſtles; and of whom the firſt Chriſtian Church was entirely compoſed. But their notion of Prophecy, conſidered as a proof of the Goſpel was not drawn from any ſcheme of it, deduced from *Adam*, and the Antediluvian World; nor do they refer us, for the evidences of our faith, to I know not what *Prophecies of Enoch*, or *Noah*, but *to Moſes and the Prophets*, whoſe writings were in every body's hands, and of an authority allowed and indiſputable.

After the example of their Maſter, they *begin with Moſes*, as the firſt Prophet, who ſpeaks at all of Chriſt, nor ever appeal to any other Prophecies, as applicable to Chriſt, but what were expreſly found *in the law*, and the later Prophets. Thus *Philip*, as ſoon as he became a follower of Chriſt, meeting with *Nathanael*,

faith unto him, We have found him, of whom Moſes *in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of* Nazareth *the Son of* Joſeph [*n*]. And as by the evidence of theſe the Jews had been previouſly taught to expect a Meſſiah, out of the family of *David*, who was to publiſh a new law of righteouſneſs, more perfect than that of *Moſes*, ſo the Evangeliſts made it their buſineſs to ſhew, from the ſame writings, that *the Meſſiah*, whom they had been looking for, was no other than that ſame *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified. With this view, they collected from every part of the Old Teſtament all the ſeveral Prophecies, relating to *the Meſſiah*, and applied them ſeparately to each act or circumſtance of the life of *Jeſus*, to which they thought them applicable, and by which they declare them to be fulfilled.

St. *Matthew* eſpecially, who publiſhed his Goſpel the firſt, and in the Hebrew tongue, for the particular information of the Jews, ſeems to have been more diligent than the reſt, in collecting theſe prophetic teſtimonies, and applying them ſeverally on all occaſions, as ſo many diſtinct proofs of the miſſion of Jeſus. There is ſcarce a ſingle occurrence, which ever happened to Chriſt, but what he declares to have been before told by ſome Prophet, and fulfilled by a correſpondent event. " The

[*n*] John i. 45.

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"conception of him by a Virgin; his birth "at *Bethlehem*; the conveyance of him into "*Egypt*; and re-conveyance into *Judæa*; his "dwelling at *Nazareth*; his removal to *Caper-* "*naum*; his cure of diſeaſes; his cuſtom of "teaching by parables; his riding into *Jeru-* "*ſalem* upon an aſs; his being betrayed by "*Judas*; ſold for thirty pieces of ſilver; the "parting of his garments, and caſting lots for "them; *his* crucifixion; with the particular "circumſtances accompanying it; the Thieves "who ſuffered with him; the vinegar given "him to drink; the wound made in his ſide; "the omiſſion of breaking his bones; his re- "ſurrection and aſcenſion, are all affirmed "to have been ſo ordered and ſo tranſacted, "by the ſpecial counſil of God, *that the Scrip-* "*tures of the Prophets might be fulfilled by* "*them* [*o*]."

All the other Evangeliſts purſue the ſame method, of applying the ancient Prophecies ſingly, and independently on each other, as ſo many arguments for the divine authority of the Goſpel: and it muſt ſurely be allowed, that any ſingle Prophecy, delivered for that purpoſe, and literally fulfilled, is a ſtrong proof of it, though we had reaſon even to neglect the reſt, as uncertain and precarious. But according to the aſſertion of this eminent Prelate, the argument

[*o*] Matt. i. 23. ii. 5, 15, 23. iv. 14, &c.

drawn

drawn from Prophecies, conſidered ſingly and independently (as they were in fact conſidered by the Evangeliſts) can neither ſatisfy any body, nor bear to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers: and on this principle his ſix Diſcourſes are manifeſtly grounded. For when that Free-thinking Author undertook to ſhew, that the prophetic teſtimonies, which are applied by the Evangeliſts, to evince the truth of the Goſpel, are in reality no proofs at all, he plainly gives up thoſe teſtimonies, as incapable of being juſtified; and amuſes us with Prophecies, as old as the world itſelf; deduced from our firſt parent *Adam*; affirming this to be the onely notion of Prophecy, which can ſupply any ſatisfactory argument for the truth of Chriſtianity.

He adds indeed one good reaſon, for his preference of this comprehenſive ſcheme, in a controverſy with unbelievers, to that narrow way, which the Evangeliſts choſe, of appealing to ſingle predictions, "becauſe it is an eaſy matter, he ſays, for men of leiſure and tolerable parts, to find difficulties in particular predictions, and in the application of them — but not ſo eaſy, to ſhew, that a chain of Prophecies, reaching through ſeveral thouſand years, delivered at different times, yet manifeſtly ſubſervient to one and the ſame end, is the effect of art and contrivance." By this way then of conſidering Prophecy, he has put the labouring oar upon his adverſary,

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which in the other way of conſidering it, muſt have been thrown upon himſelf: but whatever eaſe it may give to his Lordſhip in this particular diſpute, to conſider prophecy in ſo extenſive a view, yet, with regard to the ſervice of Chriſtianity, I cannot ſee the leaſt difference or advantage in his ſcheme, except in the greater length of his prophetic chain, than of that, which the Evangeliſts made uſe of: for the Prophecies, as they are applied ſingly in the Goſpels, are all of them ſubſervient to one and the ſame purpoſe of Providence, as well as in his hypotheſis; but the Evangelical chain, which begins with *Moſes*, reaches onely through ſeveral hundred years; whereas his chain, which begins with *Adam*, reaches through ſeveral thouſand. Yet this extenſion of it into the antediluvian ages can ſerve no other end, but to envelope a plain queſtion of fact in clouds and myſtery; which may afford more ground indeed for a fancyful genius, to build it's airy caſtles upon, but none at all on which we can raiſe any ſolid or ſatisfactory argument.

But whatever view his Lordſhip had, in recurring to this expedient, it is certain, that there was no occaſion to deſert that foundation, which the Evangeliſts had laid, and to take refuge in a precarious Syſtem, calculated rather to create ſcruples, than to cure them. For ſhould we allow, what He Himſelf plainly intimates, that the particular Prophecies, as they

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are applied by the Evangeliſts in their ſeveral Goſpels, are clogged with very great difficulties by that Freethinking Author, there is a ſolution of them, obvious and natural, ſupplied by the caſe itſelf, which, though not agreeable perhaps to the principles of ſyſtematic or political Divines, cannot poſſibly hurt the authority of the Goſpel, becauſe it is grounded on facts, expreſly delivered by the Goſpel. But this perhaps I may take occaſion to explane hereafter in a particular treatiſe, and ſhall now procede to lay my preſent remarks before the reader, in the ſame order, in which His Lordſhip's arguments, to which they ſeverally relate, are ranged by him in his Diſcourſes.

The Text, which he has choſen for the common ſubject, and foundation of all theſe Diſcourſes, is;

2 *Epiſt.* of *Pet.* c. i. 19.

We have alſo a more ſure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do dwell, that ye take heed, as unto a light, that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.

The firſt obſervation, which His Lordſhip makes upon this text, is, " that a compariſon is " evidently formed in it, between *the word of* " *Prophecy*, and ſome other thing before men- " tioned: and in order to ſhew, what the thing " is, with which Prophecy is here compared, " he

" he refers us to the three verſes, which imme-
" diately precede ;"

Ver. 16. *For we have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty.*

Ver. 17. *For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came ſuch a voice to Him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.*

Ver. 18. *And this voice, which came from Heaven, we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.*

Ver. 19. *We have alſo*, &c.

From this whole paſſage, " we may ſee, ſays
" he, on what foundation the inference of thoſe
" writers ſtands, who aſſert, that the evidence,
" which Chriſtians have from Prophecy, for
" the certainty of their hopes, is greater
" and ſurer, than the evidence, which they
" have from the preaching of the Apoſtles,
" who were eye-witneſſes and ear-witneſſes of
" what they report, concerning the majeſty
" of Chriſt: or in the words of a late Author,
" that Prophecy is a ſtronger argument than a
" miracle, which depends upon external evi-
" dence and teſtimony [*o*]."

[*o*] Page 2, 3.

Now

Now the confutation of this inference, as it was deduced by that Author from this text, being the Subject of the Biſhop's two firſt Diſcourſes, it will be neceſſary, to give the reader a diſtinct notion of the point in controverſy between them, that he may form the clearer judgement of his Lordſhip's reaſoning upon it: for which purpoſe, I ſhall draw out that Author's opinion, as it is ſtated in his own Words, of which, for certain reaſons, this learned Prelate has given us onely a ſmall part; and ſhall confront it with the Biſhop's ſenſe of the text, as it is explaned alſo by himſelf.

That Author then, in the paſſage of his book, to which we are referred, having ſhewn, how *Jeſus* and his Apoſtles grounded Chriſtianity on proofs, drawn from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament and applied by them in the New, immediately adds; "And it is ſtrongly and in-"vincibly eſtabliſhed on thoſe foundations: "becauſe a proof drawn from an inſpired book "is perfectly concluſive; and Prophecies de-"livered in an inſpired book are, when ful-"filled, ſuch as may be juſtly deemed ſure and "demonſtrative proofs, and which *Peter* pre-"ſers, as an argument, to the miraculous at-"teſtation, whereof he himſelf, and two other "Apoſtles were witneſſes, given by God him-"ſelf to the miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. His ar-"gument ſeems as follows; laying this foun-

" dation, that Prophecy proceeds from the " Holy Ghoſt, it is a ſtronger argument than " a miracle, which depends upon external evi- " dence and teſtimony [*p*]."

As far as theſe words go, there is certainly nothing in them, but what a ſincere advocate of the Goſpel might freely allow and join iſſue upon; but they came from an enemy, who had a crafty view in extolling the credit of Prophecy, in order to depreſs it afterwards the more effectually: and this was the ground of his Lordſhip's reſolution to confute, or, at all events, to contradict them: which laſt part he has performed with great ſpirit, but how far he has ſucceeded in the firſt, will be ſeen in the following remarks.

In the mean while, his Lordſhip's expoſition of the text is this; " that the word of Prophecy " is compared indeed and preferred here by St. " *Peter* to the evidence of that heavenly voice, " which he himſelf had heard in the Mount, " yet not, as that Freethinking Author ima- " gines, on the account of its being a ſurer " proof, or better argument for the general " truth of the Goſpel, but onely for the par- " ticular article *of Chriſt's coming again in glory*, " to which caſe alone the compariſon relates; " for with regard to the truth of the Goſpel, " *Peter* is ſo far from ſpeaking of Prophecy in

[*p*] See the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion, p. 27.

" this

" this place, as the beſt evidence, that he " manifeſtly ſpeaks of it as not the beſt [*q*]."

Having ſet forth theſe two oppoſite interpretations of the text, I ſhall procede to examine the ſeveral arguments by which the Biſhop attempts, in the firſt place, to confute his adverſary's ſenſe, and in the ſecond, to eſtabliſh his own.

He begins by an appeal to authority, and declares, *that the Author's expoſition is rejected, as far as he ſees, by all Interpreters* [*r*]. This indeed is ſurprizing; for in the very paſſage to which he refers us, his Adverſary has cited two Interpreters, as agreeing with him directly in the ſame expoſition, Mr. *Whiſton* and Dr. *Whitby*: the laſt of whom expreſly ſays, " the word " of Prophecy is called by St. *Peter* more ſure, " than the teſtimony of what he had heard in " the Mount: which was not ſo certain and " convincing to the Jews, as the Record of " their own Prophets: whence the Apoſtles, " both in diſputing with unbelieving Jews, and " writing to the believers, among them, con- " firm their doctrines from the writings of the " Old Teſtament [*s*]." In the collection alſo of the ſacred Critics, he might have ſeen St. *Auſtin*, as he is cited by *Eraſmus*, interpreting

[*q*] See Diſc. p. 18, 19, 20, &c.
[*r*] Ib. p. 3.
[*s*] See his Comment on the Text.

this

this text in the ſame manner; *that the word of Prophecy is called by St.* Peter *more ſure, not more true, than the miraculous atteſtation in the Mount; becauſe cavillers might aſcribe a voice delivered from heaven to Magical arts, which they could not do, in the caſe of Prophecy* [*t*]. *Caſtalio* alſo interprets theſe words, *more ſure*, as they are applied here to Prophecy, to ſignify; *more effectual to perſuade and draw men to Chriſt.* And *Grotius* paraphraſes the ſame words, as if the Apoſtle had ſaid, *The word of Prophecy had always great Authority with us, but now a much greater, after we have ſeen the events correſpond ſo aptly with the predictions, concerning the Meſſiah* [*u*]. An able Advocate alſo of our Church in the Popiſh controverſy, touching upon this very quæſtion, obſerves, that our Saviour appeals more to the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, for the truth of his miſſion, than to his miracles; and that it is the teſtimony of the Scriptures, into which the teſtimony of his miracles muſt be reſolved. And this he confirms by the authority of the text now before us, in which St. *Peter* prefers the teſtimony of the Scriptures to that miraculous atteſtation given to Jeſus in the Mount, of which he himſelf was a witneſs—" The Old Teſtament, ſays he, is here called *a word of Prophecy*, becauſe the great " buſineſs of thoſe books was, to prepare man- " kind for the reception of Chriſt by all ſorts

[*t*] Vid. Crit. Sacr. in loc. [*u*] Ibid.

" of predictions. And now that Chriſt was " come, if there remained any darkneſs or " doubting in their minds, who had ſeen and " known other teſtimonies given to *Jeſus*, they " were to take heed to the word of Prophecy, " and diligently obſerve the correſpondence of " the event with the prediction of all things " foretold concerning Chriſt; in doing which, " their doubts would by degrees vaniſh, and at " laſt they would grow to a clear and ſtrong " perſuaſion. St. *Peter* therefore calls *the word* " *of Prophecy*, *a more ſure word*, becauſe it is " the beſt means to make us ſure [*w*]."

Now all theſe Expoſitors, with many more, whom I might eaſily collect, manifeſtly confirm this interpretation of the text, which the Biſhop is laboring to confute, and take the word of Prophecy to be propoſed here by St. *Peter*, as a ſurer argument for *the Meſſiahſhip of Chriſt*, than the miraculous atteſtation of it in the Mount. And ſome of the reſt, while they prefer a different ſenſe, yet mention this ſtill as a probable one, which none of them expreſly condemn, though his Lordſhip affirms it to be rejected, *as far as he ſees*, by them all: where, though no body perhaps will call in quæſtion the ſharpneſs of his ſight, yet from this in-

[*w*] See a Pamphlet in the Popiſh controverſy, printed 1687, in Quarto, called, *The School of the Euchariſt, publiſhed upon the miraculous reſpect*, &c. ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Cradock*, Pref. p. 13, 14.

ſtance,

ſtance, as well as many others, which I might collect, one would be apt to ſuſpect, that his Lordſhip never chuſes to ſee more of any ſubject, than what may ſerve that particular hypotheſis, which he comes prepared to ſupport.

He next declares his Adverſary's expoſition, *to be contradictory not onely to the ſenſe of mankind, but inconſiſtent alſo with itſelf and many places of Scripture* [x]. Where, though we might expect to have been informed, whence it is, that he has collected the ſenſe of mankind on this ſubject, he has not favored us with the leaſt proof or example of it in any age or country whatſoever. He forgot ſurely, that he was now diſcourſing from the Preſs, and not from the Pulpit: for though *Ipſe dixits* may carry authority with them, where no body can contradict, yet they will never paſs for arguments, where ſpeech and debate are free.

He procedes however to prove the Author's expoſition to be inconſiſtent with itſelf, and ſays, "let any man conſider, and he will find, 'that "the greateſt proof, which a Prophet can give "for the authority of his miſſion is the power "of working miracles, and how then can the "evidence of Prophecy riſe higher than the "evidence of miracles, on which it ultimately "depends for all it's own authority [y]?" This

[x] Diſc. p. 3, 4. [y] Diſc. p. 4.

he illuſtrates by two examples from Scripture: "firſt of *Gideon*, who being commanded by an "Angel, in the name of God, to go and ſave "*Iſrael* from the hand of the *Midianites*, with "an aſſurance of ſucceſs, would not believe "the Prophecy, though delivered by an An-"gel, till he had received two or three Mira-"cles in confirmation of it [*z*]." Here he preſently aſks with an air of triumph; "What "think you now? the Prophecy of the Angel, "was as much a Prophecy before, as after the "Miracle: but was it a *more ſure word* before, "than after? if ſo, why was a ſign deſired? "why granted? Does God work miracles to "humour men in their folly, or to confirm "their faith? If to confirm our faith, then our "faith in the Prophecies depends on the autho-"rity of Miracles, ſince the ſtream can never "riſe above the ſpring head [*a*]."

He next takes *an higher inſtance* of *Moſes*, "the greateſt Prophet of the law, to whom "God ſpake face to face, and whom he com-"miſſioned to deliver the children of *Iſrael* out "of *Egypt*; which was ſufficient to make him "a Prophet. But what ſays *Moſes?* Behold "they will not believe me, nor hearken to my "voice, for they will ſay, The Lord hath not "appeared unto thee." And here again he aſks, "Was this a fooliſh complaint in *Moſes?* if it

[*z*] Diſc. p. 4. [*a*] Ib. p. 5.

"was

" was, how came God to liſten to it, and give " him a power to work Miracles in confirma- " tion of his Prophecy? Does not this ſhew, " that miracles are the Prophet's greateſt au- " thority and confirmation [*b*]?"

But to paſs over theſe ſallies of his eloquence, and examine the force of his reaſoning. *Every conſidering man*, he ſays, *will find the authority of prophecy, to depend ultimately on the authority of miracles:* but let a man conſider, as long as he pleaſes, he will never find it from theſe inſtances, to which he refers us. *Gideon* and *Moſes*, aſtoniſhed by a wonderful apparition and prophetic meſſage from heaven, and under that aſtoniſhment ſuſpecting that what they ſaw and heard might be nothing elſe but an illuſion, and the effect of a ſurprized and diſturbed imagination, demanded a more deliberate and familiar proof of it's reality: all which is utterly foreign to the point in quæſtion; and of no force at all towards determining the proper evidence of Prophecy. Nay, ſhould we grant them even the whole, which he infers from it, that a Prophecy delivered by an authority pretending to be divine cannot find credit, unleſs it be confirmed by miracles, yet this is nothing to his purpoſe, nor will add the leaſt advantage to his ſide of the argument.

[*b*] Ibid. 5, 6.

All who maintain the ſuperior evidence of Prophecy, mean it onely of Prophecy, actually fulfilled, and carrying with it the demonſtration of it's truth in the correſpondency of the event with the prediction; it is in this ſenſe alone, in which the Author whom he is confuting, expreſly ſpeaks of it: his words are; *Prophecies, delivered in an inſpired book, when fulfilled, may juſtly be deemed ſure and demonſtrative proofs, and a ſtronger argument than a miracle.* It is this alone, which the nature of the ſubject required him to confute, and what he had undertaken to confute; but inſtead of this, he changes the quæſtion upon us, and when we were expecting reaſons, why Prophecy fulfilled could not be ſo ſtrong a proof as a miracle, all that he attempts to ſhew is, that Prophecy not yet fulfilled nor even believed, wants the help of a miracle to give it credit. Which, as it is here applied to the confutation of that Author, is wholly fallacious and ſophiſtical, without either force or ſenſe in it.

The ſame ſort of fallacy ſeems to run through all his Diſcourſes; in which he treats Prophecy in a looſe and indeterminate ſenſe, and ſpeaks of it indifferently, as carrying the ſame evidence with it, whether it be fulfilled or not fulfilled. Whereas a bare Prophecy delivered as the proof of a divine character in any perſon or doctrine, is incapable of any perſuaſive force, or of giving any

any ſort of conviction, untill it be accompliſhed; the completion of it being the ſole teſt, by which it's veracity can be determined. The event likewiſe, foretold by it muſt be of a kind, which neither human prudence could foreſee, nor human power produce; for otherwiſe it could not give any aſſurance of a divine interpoſition; ſince it might have been brought about by natural means, and foreſeen perhaps, or luckily gueſſed by men of ſuperior penetration. Thus the Oracles of the Heathen world were ſupported by the managers of them: who being expert in all the arts of a crafty and conjectural ſagacity, gave out ſuch anſwers, as they thought the moſt probable, and truſted the accompliſhment of them to the fortuitous concurrence of natural cauſes; which, in an infinite variety of predictions, could not fail of happening to ſome: whence it became a proverbial ſaying among the *Greeks*, *that He was the beſt prophet, who could make the beſt gueſs* [*c*].

It is certain however, that a Prophecy literally fulfilled, is of itſelf, without external aid, as clear a proof of it's own divinity, as any miracle can be: though while the event is ſtill in futurity, the authority of the Prophet may reaſonably be called in quæſtion; unleſs he can

[*c*] Eſt quidem Græciis vulgaris in hanc ſententiam verſus, Bene qui conjiciet, Vatem hunc perhibeto optimum. Cic. de Divin ii. 5.

Μάντις γ' ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

ſhew ſome preſent ſign, or divine credential of his miſſion; which ſeems to have been always expected from the Jewiſh Prophets, and always performed by them. Yet miracles were not the uſual ſign of the prophetic character, but generally reſerved to ſeal the miſſion of thoſe, who were ſent to introduce a new way of worſhip, and were not granted therefore, as the learned obſerve, or in no large meaſure at leaſt, to any other, than to *Moſes*, the deliverer of the law; to *Elijah* and *Eliſha* the reſtorers; and above all to *Jeſus*, the Fulfiller of it; and to his Diſciples afterwards, the preachers of his Goſpel [*d*].

Among all the other Prophets, the common and ordinary ſign of their divine authority was, *the apparent accompliſhment of every word, which they ſpake in the name of the Lord*; as it was appointed by God himſelf; and is thus related by *Moſes*:

"The Prophet, which ſhall preſume to ſpeak "a word in my name which I have not com- "manded him to ſpeak, or that ſhall ſpeak in "the name of other Gods, even that Prophet "ſhall die.—And if thou ſay in thine heart, "How ſhall we know the word, which the "Lord hath not ſpoken?—when a Prophet "ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the "thing follow not, nor come to paſs, that is

[*d*] See Spencer on Vulgar Prophecies, c. iv. p. 60.

the

" the thing, which the Lord hath not ſpok-
" en, but the Prophet hath ſpoken it pre-
" ſumptuouſly [*e*]." We find however, ſeveral great events and revolutions foretold by all the Prophets, the truth of which could not poſſibly be known to the generation then living, becauſe they were not to take place till after a ſucceſſion of many ages: but the ſame Prophets, as we read of ſome, and may ſuppoſe therefore of all, had given in the mean while the uſual proofs of their miſſion, by many other predictions which were fulfilled perhaps immediately, or within a few days, or months; or elſe by declaring the ſecret thoughts of men, or things tranſacted in diſtant places, and with ſuch circumſtances, as no human wiſdom could poſſibly penetrate.

Thus it is ſaid of *Samuel*, *that all* Iſrael *knew him to be an eſtabliſhed Prophet of the Lord, becauſe none of his words fell to the ground* [*f*]. And *Saul*, as we read, went to conſult him, how he might find his Father's Aſſes, *becauſe he was an honourable man, and all that he ſaid came ſurely to paſs* [*g*]. It is written alſo of *Eliſha*, *that he had often given warning to the King of* Iſrael, *of the ſecret counſels, which his enemy, the King of* Syria, *had projected againſt him*: and that he could tell *whatſoever that* Syrian *King had ſpoken in his bed-chamber* [*h*]. Agreeably to all which,

[*e*] Deut. xviii. 20, &c.
[*f*] 1 Sam. iii. 19, 20.
[*g*] Ib. xix. 6.
[*h*] 2 Kings vi. 8, 12.

Jeremiah, reproving the falſe Prophet, *Hananiah*, who was deluding the people by predictions of peace and reſtoration from *Babylon*, ſaid to him; "Hear now this word, which I "ſpeak, in thine ears, and the ears of all the "people. The Prophets, that have been before "me, and before thee of old, propheſied both "againſt many countries, and great Kingdoms, "of war, and of evil, and of peſtilence. The "Prophet, which propheſieth peace, when the "word of the Prophet ſhall come to paſs, then "ſhall the Prophet be known, that the Lord "hath truly ſent him."—And when *Hananiah* perſiſted ſtill, to alledge the name of God for the truth of what he ſpake, *Jeremiah* again ſaid to him, "Hear now, *Hananiah*, the Lord "hath not ſent thee, but thou makeſt the peo-"ple to truſt in a lie. Therefore thus ſaith "the Lord, Behold, I will caſt thee off from "the face of the earth; this year thou ſhalt "die: becauſe thou haſt taught rebellion a-"gainſt the Lord. So *Hananiah* the Prophet "died the ſame year, in the ſeventh month [*i*]." And as this was the eſtabliſhed credential of the prophetic character under the Old Teſtament, ſo our Savior applied it to the ſame purpoſe in the New, as the ſure teſtimony of his divine miſſion. For after he had foretold to his diſciples, that *Judas* would betray him, he preſently adds, *now I tell you this, before it come, that when it is come to paſs, ye may believe that I am*

[*i*] Jerem. xxviii. 7, 16, 17.

He

He [*k*]. And on other occaſions alſo, when he was informing his diſciples of his approaching departure from them, and aſcent to the Father, and of the perſecutions, which they would ſuffer after he was gone, he adds the ſame words, and admoniſhes them again, in the ſame manner, *that, when the time ſhould come, they might remember, that he had told them ſo, and believe in him* [*l*]. Hence we ſee, that the eſtabliſhed and ordinary ſign, by which the Prophets of the Lord were diſtinguiſhed, was nothing elſe, but the teſtimony of Prophecy itſelf, when fulfilled, and accompliſhed by the event: becauſe this carried with it a proof of Divinity, as convincing as any, which heaven could give.

Let us now return to the Biſhop's Diſcourſes, in which he goes on to demonſtrate the inconſiſtency of the Author's expoſition, by telling us, "that it makes *Peter* to ſay, in his own "perſon, that the dark Prophecies of the Old "Teſtament were a ſurer and more certain evi"dence to himſelf, than the immediate voice "of God, which he had heard with his own "ears. *And is it poſſible*, adds he, *that St.* Peter, "*or any man in his wits could make ſuch a com*"*pariſon* [*m*]?" To which quæſtion, ſo ſmartly and confidently put, I readily anſwer; that it is not onely poſſible, that St. *Peter* might

[*k*] John xiii. 19. [*l*] Ib. xvi. 4.
[*m*] Diſc. p. 6.

make

make ſuch a compariſon, but even weak to imagine, that he could make any other: which I ſhall preſently explane, by ſtating a fact or two, univerſally acknowledged by all, both Jews and Chriſtians. The ſpirit of Prophecy, which continued in the Jewiſh Church, till after it's reſtoration from the Babyloniſh captivity, had intirely ceaſed under the ſecond Temple, for three centuries at leaſt before the birth of Chriſt. But there ſucceeded to it, as all the Jewiſh writers unanimouſly teſtify, an *oracular voice from heaven*, which was given occaſionally "to the lead-"ing Rabbies or Teachers of the Law, to di-"rect them, how to act or ſpeak on particular "emergencies." It is ſaid, to have been accompanied generally with a kind of thunder, out of which it iſſued, in a clear and articulate manner, and thence derived it's name of *Bath-Kol*; that is, the *daughter-voice*, or *daughter of a voice*. The *Both-Kol*, ſays the learned *Lightfoot*, was this; *when a voice or thunder came out of heaven, another voice came out of it* [*n*]. This way of divine inſtruction is affirmed to have been ſubſiſting during the time of our Savior, and to the final diſſolution of the Jewiſh ſtate; and is conſidered by all their Doctors, as *an inferior kind of Prophecy, or a ſort of twylight indulged to them after the Sun*

[*n*] See Lightfoot's Works, Vol. ii. p. 128. in Matt. iii. ver, 17.

N. B. Thus when *Jeſus*, a little before his death, was addreſſing himſelf to the Father, in the midſt of his diſciples and people of *Jeruſalem*, and ſaying; *Father, ſave me from*

Sun of Prophecy was ſet [*o*]; and from this pretended ſource, they derived the greateſt part of thoſe traditions, with which they corrupted the Law of *Moſes*. This then being the general perſuaſion of the Jews, at the time, when St. *Peter* wrote his Epiſtle, he would neceſſarily prefer the evidence of Prophecy, which was always eſteemed the higheſt and moſt perfect degree of Inſpiration, under the firſt Temple, to the *Bath-Kol*, or *a voice from heaven*, the more imperfect Oracle of the ſecond Temple; and, which all the Jewiſh converts, and *Peter* himſelf without doubt, had been taught to conſider, as of an authority much inferior to the original *word of Prophecy*, delivered to them by *Moſes*, and the other antient Prophets. For the learned reckon *four degrees of a Prophetic or divine Inſtruction*, which were indulged to the Jewiſh Church: the firſt and moſt excellent was, *the Spirit of Prophecy*, properly ſo called, as it was given to *Moſes*, and the ſucceeding Prophets: the ſecond was, *The Holy Spirit*: the third, *Urim and Thummim*; the fourth and low-

from this hour; Father, glorify thy name: There came a voice from heaven, ſaying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. Upon which the People, that ſtood by, and heard it, ſaid that it thundered; others ſaid, that an Angel ſpake to him, [John xii. 28]. That is; part of the company believed it to be nothing more, than an accidental clap of thunder; while others took it to be the *Bath-Kol*, or the *voice of God, or of an Angel*, which was accompanied always with thunder.

[*o*] See Spencer on the Vulgar Prophecies. c. vii. p. 126.

eſt,

eſt, *the Bath-Kol* [*p*]. Which laſt, as *Grotius* ſays, was *the ſole Oracle, which remained to them, during the time of the ſecond Temple* [*q*].

The reality of this Oracular voice is atteſted, as I have ſaid, by all the Jewiſh writers, after the ceſſation of Prophecy, in the ſame poſitive manner, as the miraculous gifts of the Chriſtian Church, by the primitive Fathers, after the days of the Apoſtles; and innumerable inſtances of it are particularly recorded by the ſame writers: yet the ableſt of our Divines, and the moſt converſant with the Rabbinical learning, have not ſcrupled to declare the whole ſtory of it, to be a mere fiction, contrived to illuſtrate the characters and authority of ſome leading Rabbies, and recommend the particular Doctrines, which they were eſtabliſhing. Such was the opinion of two learned Deans, and ornaments of our Church, Dr. *Spencer* and Dr. *Prideaux*; the firſt of whom, after declaring the *Bath-Kol to be a Jewiſh Fable*, ſays; "there "were no two nations which have ſo corrupted "hiſtories, and obtruded ſo many legends upon "the credulity of the world, to inhance the "credit of their own people, as the *Jews*, *and*

[*p*] Quatuor gradus in Prophetia; primus, Prophetia: Secundus, Spiritus Sanctus: Tertius, Urim & Thummim. Quartus & infimus, *Filia vocis*. Druſ. in Matt. iii. 17.

[*q*] Quod ſolum ferme Oraculi genus temporibus Templi ſecundi reſtabat, *Bath-Kol*, vocant. Grot. in Joh. xii. 28.

"*the*

" *the Grecians* [*r*]." And the ſecond affirms, that the *Bath-Kol was no ſuch voice from heaven, as they pretended, but a phantaſtical way of divination of their own invention* [*s*]." Dr. *Lightfoot* alſo, the Soundneſs of whoſe faith and erudition is allowed by all, ſpeaks ſtill more preciſely to my preſent purpoſe, and ſays; " that if we obſerve two things, firſt, that the " Jewiſh nation, under the ſecond Temple was " given to Magical arts beyond meaſure: ſe- " condly, that it was given to believe all man- " ner of deluſions beyond meaſure; we may " ſafely ſuſpect, that thoſe voices, which they " thought to be from heaven, and noted with " the name of *Bath-Kol*, were either formed by " the Devil in the air, to deceive the people; or, " by Magicians with Deviliſh art, to promote " their own affairs;" from which he draws this inference, which I would recommend to the ſpecial conſideration of this eminent Prelate; *Hence*, adds he, *the Apoſtle Peter ſaith with good reaſon, that the word of Prophecy was ſurer, than a voice from heaven* [*t*].

Yet St. *Peter's* words, after all, as they are expounded by the freethinking author abovementioned, do not neceſſarily imply him to mean, that Prophecy was a ſurer argument to himſelf, than the voice from heaven, which he

[*r*] Spencer ibid.
[*s*] Prid. Connect. Vol. ii. p. 256. Edit. Fol.
[*t*] Vol. ii. p. 129.

had

had heard, but to the Jewiſh converts in general, who did not hear that voice, but received it onely from the report of others. It was not his view in this Epiſtle, to declare what ſort of arguments was the moſt convincing to himſelf, but to propoſe ſuch, as were moſt worthy of the attention of thoſe, to whom he was writing, and moſt effectual to keep them ſtedfaſt in the faith, againſt the impreſſions of falſe teachers, who were laboring to ſeduce them: and that Prophecy is a properer argument, to repell the inſults of unbelieving ſcoffers, than the report of a Miracle, is manifeſt, from the reaſon mentioned above from St. *Auſtin*; becauſe a Miracle, and eſpecially, *a voice from heaven*, might be imputed to Magical arts; whereas a prophecy, actually fulfilled, was not liable to any ſuch imputation. When St. *Peter* therefore ſays, *We have a more ſure word of Prophecy*; the occaſion of his words oblige us to interpret them, as ſpoken, not with any particular reference to himſelf, but to the general body of the Jewiſh Converts, to whoſe attention he recommends them: and the conſtant uſe and analogy of all language will juſtify ſuch an interpretation.

But ſhould we admit, what His Lordſhip affirms, that the text, as it is expounded by that Author, makes *Peter prefer Prophecy, as a ſurer argument even to himſelf, than the voice, which he heard in the Mount*; how will this prove that

that expoſition to be inconſiſtent, or that *Peter muſt be out of his wits in ſaying ſo?* It is no offence ſurely, either to reaſon or religion to imagine; that this wonderfull apparition and heavenly voice, might be accompanied with ſuch circumſtances, as would naturally leave ſome doubt and perplexity on the mind, concerning the preciſe manner, and nature of the whole tranſaction. For *Peter*, as we read, was in ſuch a fright and amazement, at what he ſaw and heard, *that he knew not what he ſaid:* and both he and the two other Apoſtles, then with him, *James and John*, were ſo greatly terrifyed, that *they fell upon their faces to the ground, and durſt not ſo much as look up*, till *Jeſus*, when the viſion was over, came to raiſe and encourage them [*u*].

But be that as it will, and let *Peter* be as perfectly aſſured, as we can ſuppoſe him to be, of every circumſtance, which paſſed in the Mount, he might ſtill take Prophecy, conſidered as a ſtanding evidence, always lying open to the cool and deliberate examination of reaſon, to be a firmer argument on the whole, and to carry a more permanent conviction with it to the ſober ſenſes of men, than the viſion, with which he here compares it. For after all the conviction, which he himſelf had received from it, we know, that his faith was ſtill ſo infirm, as to betray

[*u*] Matt. xvii. 6. Mark ix. 6.

him into a ſhameful denial of his Maſter, whom he had ſeen ſo wonderfully glorified. We know on the other hand, that after our Lord's Aſcenſion, when his faith was more fully confirmed, and his underſtanding inlightened by the miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, the chief argument, which he applied in all his Sermons, to evince the truth of the Goſpel, was this *more ſure word of Prophecy*, as he calls it; from which he demonſtrated to the Jews, how the character, doctrine and miſſion of Jeſus were foretold and deſcribed *by the mouths of all their Prophets* [*w*].

I might now leave it to the reader to judge, whether in contradiction to what the Biſhop maintains, a man in his wits, and eſpecially a Jew, might not think Prophecy a ſtronger argument in general, than a voice from heaven, which he himſelf had heard; or at leaſt, whether every man in his ſober ſenſes, would not ſooner truſt to the evidence of Prophecy, when allowed to be fulfilled, than to a voice from heaven, not heard by himſelf, but reported to him by another: for this in truth is the whole, which can reaſonably be inferred from St. *Peter*'s words. But before I diſmiſs this argument, I cannot help obſerving, that all, which His Lordſhip has been affirming ſo freely concerning the ſuperior evidence of Miracles to that of Prophecy, ſeems to have been originally con-

[*w*] Acts ii. 19. iii. 18, 21, &c.

futed,

futed, and the whole quæſtion determined againſt him, by Chriſt himſelf; who in one of his Parables declares, *that thoſe, who would not hearken to* Moſes *and the Prophets, would not be perſuaded, though one roſe from the dead* [x]; clearly intimating, that *the word of Prophecy*, as delivered in the Old Teſtament, carried with it a firmer proof of the truth of his Goſpel to the Jews, than even the greateſt of all his Miracles.

His Lordſhip obſerves farther, that the diſparaging character, which *Peter* here gives of the word of Prophecy, ſhews, that he could not mean to recommend it, as the beſt evidence of the Chriſtian faith, for he diſtinguiſhes it from *day-light, and the brightneſs of the day-ſtar, and compares it to a light ſhining in a dark place*; or to *the glimmering light of a candle, ſeen at a diſtance in a dark night: which though it gives ſome direction, yet is nothing, when compared to clear day-light.* And here he entertains us again, through a page or two, with a floriſh of his oratory: "Is not this now, ſays he, a choice "account of the evidence of the Goſpel; nay, "of the very beſt evidence, which we have of "the Goſpel? Are we ſtill ſurrounded on all "ſides with darkneſs, aſſiſted by one onely "glimmering light? Was it thus, that Chriſt

[x] Luke xvi. 31.

" came *to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and* " *to be the glory of* Iſrael? St. *Peter*, in his firſt " Epiſtle, tells all Chriſtians, *that they are call-* " *ed out of darkneſs into God's marvellous light*; " how comes he then to tell them in the ſecond, " that they are ſtill in darkneſs, and have no- " thing but a glimmering light to direct them? " Can the ſame writer poſſibly be ſuppoſed to " give ſuch different accounts of the Goſpel " ſtate? Aſk St. *Paul* what ſtate Chriſtians are " in, he will tell you, *that the light of the glo-* " *rious Goſpel of Chriſt, who is the image of God,* " *has ſhone upon them.* Aſk the Evangeliſts, " they will tell you, *The day ſtar from on high* " *hath viſited us, to give light to them, who ſit* " *in darkneſs.* Aſk any, or all the Apoſtles, " they will tell you, their commiſſion is *to open* " *the eyes of the people, and to turn them from* " *darkneſs to light* [y]."

Yet all this pomp of words; this ſolemn appeal to the whole College of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, is nothing elſe but an empty ſtrain of rhetoric, without any argument or ſignificancy in it whatſoever. The ſtate of the Goſpel, he ſays, is deſcribed by the ſacred writers, as a ſtate of glorious light. But what is this to the purpoſe? Has the Author whom he is confuting, compared the light of *Prophecy*, to *the glorious light of the Goſpel?* No: he conſiders

[y] Diſc. p. vii. 8.

it

it onely, as one of the proofs and evidences of the Goſpel: and though it yields but a fainter light, it may ſtill be the beſt, which we have, to guide us into the day-light of the Goſpel: this is all, which the Author's expoſition implies, and thus far it is certainly conſiſtent. But the Biſhop urges, that it makes the Apoſtle give different accounts of the Goſpel ſtate in his two Epiſtles, telling the Chriſtians in the firſt that they are *called out of darkneſs into God's marvellous light*, yet telling them in the ſecond, that *they are ſtill in darkneſs*. But theſe different accounts are plainly given of different things, which his Lordſhip by miſtake confounds and treats as one and the ſame: I mean the Goſpel ſtate, of which the Apoſtle is here ſpeaking, and the ſtate of thoſe Jewiſh Converts, to whom he was then writing. For the Goſpel ſtate, when compared with *day-light, and the day-ſtar*, neceſſarily ſignifies the perfection of that ſtate, inlightened with all the knowledge, and enriched with all the graces, which are the genuin fruits of a perfect faith in Chriſt: but the ſtate of the New Chriſtians, to whom theſe Epiſtles are addreſſed, was far removed from that character: they were *called indeed into God's marvellous light*; and had made ſome progreſs towards it, but were not yet arrived at it: for as *Peter* expreſly ſays, *the day had not yet dawned to them, nor the day-ſtar ariſen in their hearts*. For which reaſon he recommends to them *the word of Prophecy*, as the

ſureſt guide, to lead them through the obſcurity of their doubts into clear day-light. And thus the Apoſtle's ſenſe, as it is expounded by the Author, is clear and conſiſtent, nor liable to any exception, but what flows from that perplexity, in which his Lordſhip has involved it, by his uſe of equivocal terms, and perpetual change of the point in quæſtion.

He takes it for granted, through all his Diſcourſes, and builds his Argument upon it, that *Peter's* character of Prophecy, *as of a light ſhining in a dark place*, carries in it a very low and diſparaging idea of it; and makes nothing more of it, than a twinkling candle ſeen at a diſtance in a dark night. But is not *a light, which ſhines in a dark place*, the greateſt comfort, and beſt guidance, which a man can poſſibly have in a ſtate of darkneſs, and the ſole means, by which a wandering traveller can hope to extricate himſelf, and make his way at laſt into day-light? for this was the real uſe of Prophecy, as it was applied by the Apoſtles, to draw both the Jews and Gentiles out of their darkneſs, into the light of the Goſpel.

But all the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, he ſays, if examined concerning the ſubject of their Commiſſion, will tell us, *that it was to open the eyes of the people, and to turn them from darkneſs to light*. This indeed is true, but not the whole truth,

truth, nor is it that truth, which we are now enquiring after; and his Lordſhip, who is ſo celebrated *a Trier of witneſſes*, muſt allow the adverſe party, to examine them as well as himſelf. Let me aſk them therefore in my turn, what were the means which they uſed, in virtue of their commiſſion, to propagate that light, which they were ordered to diſpenſe to the world? *Matthew* will tell us, on the part of the Evangeliſts, that it was the *more ſure word of Prophecy*; by the evidence of which, he had ſhewn in his Goſpel, how the miſſion of *Jeſus*, and all the remarkable acts and ſufferings of his life, were precifely and circumſtantially foretold by the Prophets. *Peter* alſo will tell us, that, *on the Feaſt of Pentecoſt*, when the Apoſtles had received their full powers from heaven, he converted *three thouſand ſouls* that very day, by the *ſame word of Prophecy*; and that in all his ſermons, the chief argument which he applied to draw people out of their darkneſs, was to ſhew, that the *character and miſſion of Jeſus* were foretold and deſcribed, many ages before, *by the mouths of all the Prophets*. If we follow St. *Paul* likewiſe through all his travels and labors, in propagating the Goſpel, we ſhall find him, in every City, betaking himſelf to the Synagogue; reaſoning there with the Jews, *and opening and alledging to them from the Scriptures, that Chriſt muſt needs have ſuffered and riſen again from the dead*; and that *Jeſus*, whom he preached unto them, was the Chriſt; and in ſhort, ſaying *no*

other things, as he himſelf affirms, *than thoſe, which the Prophets and Moſes did ſay, ſhould come* [*a*].

His Lordſhip advances ſtill *one ſtep farther*, in depreſſing the evidence of Prophecy, and declares, "that St. *Peter* is ſo far from ſpeaking of it as the beſt light to be had, for "the point in quæſtion, that he manifeſtly "ſpeaks of it, as not the beſt, but as a light "to be attended to onely, untill a better comes: "and he would not have limited any time for "their attending to it, had he been conſidering it as the beſt ſupport of the Chriſtian "faith, for in that ſenſe it ought ever to be "attended to [*b*]." And here again the turn of his argument would lead us to imagine, that his adverſary had compared the light of Prophecy with the light of the Goſpel: for in any other view of it, it is nothing elſe but a mere quibble, which tends rather to confute, than ſupport, what he attempts to eſtabliſh. For to what time has *Peter limited their attention to Prophecy?* why, *until the day ſhould dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in their hearts:* that is, till they had acquired a full conviction, and ſtedfaſt faith in the truth of the Goſpel. As if he had ſaid, ye do well in attending to the word of Prophecy, till it has completed it's work, and

[*a*] Acts xiii. 27, &c. xvii. 3. xviii. 28.
[*b*] Diſc. p. 9.

wrought

wrought in you that effect, for which it was at firſt given, and for which I now recommend it, of confirming and perfecting your faith in Chriſt. Which inſtead of limiting their attention, is an exhortation for their perſeverance in it, till the end of it was obtained, and no farther room left for any particular ſollicitude or anxious enquiries on that ſubject.

Having now run through all the arguments, by which his Lordſhip endeavours to overthrow that Author's expoſition, I ſhall procede to examine thoſe, by which he attempts to eſtabliſh his own.

He affirms, that the preference given by St. *Peter* in this text to the evidence of Prophecy was not intended by him to recommend it, as a ſtronger argument for the general truth of the Goſpel, but onely for the particular article of Chriſt's coming down again in glory; in the confirmation of which, the Apoſtle firſt alledges to them *the glorification of Chriſt*, on the Mount, as one proof: and then adds *the word of Prophecy*, as another, ſtill better, with regard to an event, which, being *yet in futurity*, *admitted no ſurer evidence than of Prophecy* [*c*].

After he has worked up this ſenſe, with much hypothetical refinement, from a number of paſ-

[*c*] Diſc. p. 13, 19, 22.

ſages,

ſages, arbitrarily tacked together from both the Epiſtles, and ſtrained to his own purpoſe; by *ſuppoſing, what an Objector might ſay, and ſuppoſing again what the Apoſtle might anſwer*, he pronounces it, to be *eaſy, natural, rendering to every expreſſion it's proper ſignification neceſſary to the Apoſtle's argument; plainly enforced by the context, and clear of all difficulties* [*d*].

But for my own part, when I recurred to the Epiſtles, after the peruſal of this Diſcourſe, I could neither ſee the neceſſity, nor propriety of his Lordſhip's expoſition, nor the leaſt reaſon from either of the Epiſtles, why *the word of Prophecy* ſhould be diſparaged, and degraded by him, from being a proof of the general truth of the Goſpel, and reſtrained to the particular article of *Chriſt's coming in glory*.

The two Epiſtles of St. *Peter* have always been ſtyled *Catholic*, or general, as not written to any particular Church, or to inculcate any particular doctrine; but addreſſed to the Jewiſh Converts at large, or diſperſed through the ſeveral provinces of the Eaſt, for the ſake of confirming them in that faith, in which they had been inſtructed, and to arm them againſt the Scoffers and falſe Teachers, who were buſily employed, in beguiling and ſeducing them from that faith.

[*d*] Diſc. p. 22.

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In the firſt Epiſtle, he puts them in mind, " how they were begotten again to a lively " hope, by the reſurrection of *Jeſus*; to an in- " heritance incorruptible, reſerved for them in " Heaven. That the end of their faith was " the ſalvation of Souls; that the Prophets " had enquired diligently after this ſalvation, " and propheſied of the grace, that ſhould " come to them ſearching into the time, ſigni- " fied by the Spirit of God, when it teſtified " before-hand of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and " the glory which ſhould follow: that they did " not propheſy of things relating to themſelves, " but of the things, which were reported by " thoſe who preached the Goſpel, and which " the Angels deſired to look into. Having " thus opened the foundation of their faith, " from the ancient Prophecies, and ſignified " how this ſpiritual houſe, or Chriſtian Church, " *was built on that chief corner ſtone laid in Sion*, " as *mentioned by* Iſaiah; he exhorts them, to " ſtedfaſtneſs in that faith, which was ſo well " grounded; and to the practice of all thoſe " graces, which are the fruits of it, holineſs, " ſobriety, mutual love, charity, vigilance: " after which, he draws out a ſhort ſketch of " all the ſeveral duties required by the Goſpel, " from every particular rank and condition of " it's Diſciples: from ſervants, from ſubjects, " from wives, from huſbands, from the old " and from the young. And becauſe their pre-

" ſent

" ſent ſtate was expoſed to manifold tempta-
" tions and trials, from the malice of their
" enemies, he drops ſeveral hints occaſionally,
" by way of comfort to them, concerning the
" ſpeedy coming of Chriſt in power and glory
" to deliver and reward them, and to take a
" ſevere vengeance on their perſecutors; and
" concludes, by declaring, that his view in
" writing to them, was to exhort and teſtify,
" that what he had briefly explaned to them,
" was the true grace of God, in which they
" ſtood."

In the ſecond Epiſtle he admoniſhes them,
" to make a proper uſe of the exceeding grace,
" and precious promiſes, which were given
" them through faith in Chriſt, by uſing all
" diligence, to improve that faith, and carry
" it on to it's perfection, by adding to it vir-
" tue, knowledge, temperance, patience, god-
" lineſs, brotherly kindneſs, charity, that they
" might not be unfruitful in the knowledge of
" Chriſt, but make their election ſure; of
" which he would never fail to remind and ſtir
" them up, as long as he lived. Then to con-
" firm them againſt the ſcoffers and falſe teach-
" ers, who were beguiling the unſtable, and
" drawing them away from the Goſpel, he re-
" minds them again, in ſhort, of the founda-
" tion of that faith, which had been preached
" to them by the Apoſtles, as being grounded
" not on fabulous tales, but on Miracles and
" Prophecy;

" Prophecy; alledging, as an inſtance of the
" former, the miraculous atteſtation given to
" it by God on the Mount, yet exhorting them
" to attend more eſpecially to the latter, as to
" an evidence *more ſure*, or convincing to them:
" becauſe *none of the Old Prophecies were dictated*
" *by the will of man, but by the ſpirit of God.*
" He then procedes to a particular deſcription
" of the wicked principles, manners, and cha-
" racters of thoſe falſe teachers, who were
" bringing upon themſelves ſwift deſtruction;
" and in the third and laſt chapter declares,
" that this ſecond Epiſtle was written with the
" ſame view, as the firſt, *to ſtir up their minds*
" *and memories, concerning the words ſpoken of*
" *old by the Prophets, and commanded by the Apo-*
" *ſtles of our Lord.* He aſſures them of the
" certainty of Chriſt's coming, notwithſtand-
" the ſcoffs of thoſe deceivers, who ſeeing all
" things continue in the ſame ſtate, as in the
" days of the Fathers, and not knowing what
" wonderfull things God had formerly wrought
" in the old world, derided the belief of it's
" approaching end: but that the day of the
" Lord would come upon them unexpectedly,
" as a thief in the night, and this ſeeming de-
" lay of judgement was not to be aſcribed to
" any ſlackneſs of the Lord, concerning the
" performance of his promiſe, but to his mercy
" and long-ſuffering, that all might have time
" to repent and be ſaved: which he urges as a
" motive, to perſevere in an holy life, and to
" beware

" beware, that they be not drawn away, by " the error of the wicked, and fall from the " ſtedfaſtneſs of their faith."

In this abſtract of the two Epiſtles, we ſee, as it were, the whole plan of Chriſtian duty, with reſpect both to faith and practice, ſketched out in a ſummary manner, agreeable to the purpoſe of the writer, which as it is declared by himſelf, was to ſtir up the Jewiſh converts to a ſtedfaſt adherence to that faith, in which they had been inſtructed: And as the coming of Chriſt was one article of it, which was particularly derided by the ſcoffers of thoſe days; ſo the certain and ſpeedy approach of it is more eſpecially inculcated, as an effectual ſource of comfort, and a ſtrong motive of conſtancy, in thoſe circumſtances of perſecution, to which they were then expoſed. It is evident likewiſe, that all the uſe which is made by the Apoſtle, *of the word of Prophecy* in both the Epiſtles, is applied by him to the ſame general purpoſe, of confirming the whole Chriſtian doctrine, and not to the particular proof of the ſingle article of Chriſt's coming. For the Prophecies mentioned in the firſt Epiſtle, are declared to relate, *to the Salvation of Souls, which is obtained by the faith of Chriſt; to the ſufferings of Chriſt, and the glory, which ſhould afterwards follow; and in ſhort, to the things, which were reported by thoſe, who preached the Goſpel, and which the Angels deſired to look into:* which muſt be underſtood,

to

to reach to the whole of Chriſtianity; or *the whole myſtery of man's redemption*, and cannot be reſtrained to one particular article of it. The ſecond Epiſtle, from which the text is taken, was written, as it expreſly tells us, with the ſame view as the firſt; *to ſtir up the Chriſtians, and remind them of the words, which were ſpoken before by the Prophets, and preached to them afterwards by the Apoſtles*; which muſt include likewiſe the whole faith: according to which ſenſe and in no other, St. *Peter's* reaſoning will be found clear and juſt, in his application both of *the miracle in the Mount, and of the word of Prophecy*; and in the preference given to the latter, with regard to the general force of it's evidence.

The *Glorification of Chriſt*, which *Peter* ſaw, and *the voice of God*, which he heard, declaring *Jeſus to be his beloved Son*, was undoubtedly a ſtrong proof of Chriſt's divine miſſion: Yet to thoſe, who did not hear that voice, *the word of Prophecy*, conſidered as a ſtanding evidence, is ſurely a much firmer and more rational proof of it. But that ſame *glorification*, though a ſtrong argument for the truth of Chriſt's miſſion, is no argument at all for his coming again in glory. This the Biſhop himſelf allows, and even ridicules the notion of it's carrying any real evidence of that ſort. *Can any certainty*, ſays he, *as to future events, be collected from paſt events? or can any thing we ſee this year, aſſure us, what will*

will happen to us the next [e]? It is abſurd then to imagine, that St. *Peter* ſhould alledge *the glorification of Chriſt in the* Mount, as a proof of his coming again in glory, of which in reality it was no proof at all; or ſhould compare the evidence of Prophecy, to the evidence of a particular Miracle, with regard to a particular event, to which that Miracle bore no ſort of relation. Whereas if we ſuppoſe him to have compared them together as arguments for *the miſſion of Jeſus*, of which they are both good proofs, the compariſon is rightly inſtituted, and the preference juſtly given to Prophecy.

Thus far however all people will agree with his Lordſhip, that Prophecy is as ſure an argument for the coming of Chriſt, as the viſion in the Mouut, becauſe that viſion, as he owns, is no argument at all: but he aſſigns another reaſon, which is not quite ſo clear; *becauſe Chriſt's coming is an event yet in futurity, for which therefore we can have no ſurer evidence than Prophecy*. But Prophecy not fulfilled, carries with it, as I have ſaid above, no evidence at all, nor is an event in futurity capable of being aſcertained by any; and cannot therefore be a juſt ground for giving the title of *ſure* or *more ſure*, to any ſort of evidence whatſoever. The article of Chriſt's coming, is an expreſs doctrine of the

[e] Diſc. p. 21.

Goſpel, taught both by Chriſt and all his Apoſtles, ſo that the Jewiſh converts to whom St. *Peter* was writing, could not poſſibly doubt of it, without doubting at the ſame time of the whole, which the Apoſtles had been preaching to them concerning all the other doctrines and facts of the Goſpel; and, in ſuch a caſe, it would have been vain and trifling, to attempt to confirm their faith, by a particular Prophecy not yet fulfilled, when they had conceived a diſtruſt of all the other Prophecies, which had been alledged to them by the Apoſtles, as actually fulfilled.

The prediction of things to come, can, at the moſt, raiſe onely an expectation or preſumption, more or leſs ſtrong, in proportion to the authority of the perſon, who delivers it. To men perſuaded that all the remarkable things, foretold in the Old Teſtament, concerning the *Meſſiah*, were actually fulfilled in *Jeſus*, the preſumption would be ſtrong, that any other event, ſtill future, foretold by the ſame Prophets, and relating to the ſame *Jeſus*, would be accompliſhed in due time. But to thoſe, who doubted of the Prophecies already fulfilled, the prediction of an event ſtill future, urged by way of confirmation to them, might help indeed to increaſe their doubts, but could not in any manner be applicable to the cure of them. So that the Biſhop's expoſition of the *word of Prophecy* in the text, as applied to the particular caſe of

Chriſt's coming, could not poſſibly anſwer the Apoſtle's end of confirming the faith of thoſe, to whom he was writing, or have any influence at all with them, unleſs he had really meant to propoſe it, as the firmeſt evidence on the whole, for the general truth of the Goſpel.

His Lordſhip adds one argument more, for the final overthrow of that Author's expoſition, by ſaying, "that *the more ſure word of Pro-* "*phecy* here mentioned, is not to be underſtood "merely of the Prophecies of the Old Teſta- "ment, for it may refer to the Prophecies of "the New; and probably does, as appears "from St. *Peter's* appealing, not onely to the "antient Prophets, but alſo to the preachers "of the Goſpel. How unhappily then, adds "he, was this text made choice of, to ſet up "antient Prophecy in oppoſition to Goſpel evi- "dence, ſince the Prophecy here intended is "probably itſelf a Goſpel-evidence? *&c.* [*f*]."

Yet while he inſults his adverſary, for his *unhappy application of this text*, to ſet up the credit of antient Prophecy, he is certainly more unhappy, in hazarding ſo crude a reflection; which is confuted even by St. *Peter* himſelf, on whoſe authority he grounds it; who, in the very next words to the text, plainly limits the ſenſe of it, *to the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament*; and gives this reaſon for ſetting up Prophecy, *be-*

[*f*] Diſc. p. 23.

cauſe

cauſe no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private interpretation: for Prophecy came not of old by the will of man, but holy men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt [g]. For it is a point allowed and indiſputable, that wherever the writers of the New Teſtament ſpeak of the *Scripture* in general, or *of the Prophecies of the Scripture*, they muſt be underſtood to ſpeak onely of the Old Teſtament, and the Prophecies therein recorded.

We are now come to the Biſhop's ſecond Diſcourſe, the chief purpoſe of which is, to illuſtrate the nature of Prophecy, from the teſtimonies of the ſacred writers; and to ſhew what St. *Peter's meaning* was *in comparing it to a light ſhining in a dark place, and in making it's evidence ſo much inferior to the other evidence of the Goſpel.* But His Lordſhip's zeal ſeems to be bent rather, on refuting what his adverſary has affirmed, than on ſearching what St. *Peter* really meant; and on contradicting the Freethinker at any rate, though at the hazard of contradicting the Apoſtle.

St. *Peter*, as it is manifeſt from every part of his conduct, had a very high opinion of the evidence of Prophecy, and applied it on all occaſions, as the moſt effectual proof, which he could offer to the Jews for the *miſſion of Jeſus, or the general truth of the Goſpel.* Yet when the

[g] 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

Free-thinker, upon his authority, had undertaken to conſider it in the ſame character, the Biſhop begins preſently to depreciate and reduce it ſo low, as to render it of no uſe at all. For this is the deſcription, which he gives us of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament; "that they "are generally penned in ſuch a manner, that "one cannot fix the preciſe and determinate "ſenſe of them with any certainty [*b*]: That "they are dark ſpeeches, delivered in viſions "and dreams; and were never intended to be "a very diſtinct evidence [*i*]: That they are "figurative and dark deſcriptions, of future "events, which could not be made clearer, by "being even fulfilled, but would have all the "obſcurity of figurative and dark deſcriptions, "as well after, as before the event [*k*]; and "that no event can make a figurative expreſſion "plain, or litteral; or reſtrain the language of "Prophecy to one determinate ſenſe, which "was originally capable of *many* [*l*]."

How different a character is this, from what Dr. *Spencer* has given of the ſame Prophecies? which ſtand, he ſays, "perpetuated in Scrip-"ture, and fall therefore under the dayly no-"tices of men; ſo that when the events fore-"told come to paſs, they may readily be com-"pared with the predictions; which, the more "antient date they bear, the more wonderfull

[*b*] Diſc. p. 29. [*i*] Ib. p. 30. [*k*] Ib. p. 32.
[*l*] Ib. p. 36.

"will

" will they appear, when accompliſhed, and " the more full reports will they make, of their " divine original, and of the Scripture, where- " in they are found. For there is nothing " doth ſo ſeal the faith of the divine inſpiration " of Scripture, as the various predictions there- " in delivered, at ſuch diſtant times and places, " exactly accompliſhed in their ſeaſons [*m*]."

But even the litteral Prophecies find no better treatment from his Lordſhip than the dark and the figurative: " for theſe, he ſays, how " plainly ſoever foretold, were not always the " plaineſt at the time of their delivery, nor re- " ceived by the Jews in their true meaning, for " the ſeeming incredibility of the things: for " an inſtance of which, he gives this Prophe- " cy; *a Virgin ſhall conceive a ſon*: which being " contradictory to all the experience of the " world, was not probably believed by the Jews " of thoſe days to import a miraculous concep- " tion; becauſe common ſenſe would lead them " to underſtand it in a manner agreeable to na- " ture and experience [*n*]."

This is ſurely a very raſh and unguarded declaration. Did not the Jews look upon their Prophets, to have been really inſpired? and were not miraculous events of all kinds familiar to them in every period of their hiſtory? did

[*m*] See Spencer on Vulg. Proph. c. iii. p. 50.
[*n*] Diſc. p. 34.

they not know, how God, for the defence of his people, had frequently over-ruled the eſtabliſhed order of nature, and baffled all the experience of mankind? how he had made *the ſun to ſtand ſtill, or go backwards* at his pleaſure, for a ſign to his ſervants [*o*], and had ordered the waters of the ſea to ſeparate themſelves, and open a ſafe paſſage to the armies of *Iſrael* [*p*]? Is it poſſible then, that their faith and reaſon could be ſhocked by the *conception of a virgin*, when affirmed to them, in the name of the ſame God, by perſons divinely inſpired? yet this, it ſeems, was the caſe, and a Prophecy ſo wonderfull, could not be underſtood by *the Jews*, on the account of it's contradiction to common ſenſe, *till the event had ſhewn the litteral meaning to be the true one* [*q*].

But His Lordſhip is as unlucky in the choice of this particular inſtance, as he is injudicious in his reflection upon it: for of all the Prophecies relating to *Jeſus*, this alone is of a kind, which is incapable of being made clearer by the event. His reſurrection from the dead, how incredible ſoever in the prediction, was cleared up, beyond all doubt, by the event, to all thoſe, who ſaw and converſed with him after it: and ſo in all the other miraculous caſes which were foretold of him, the event, if expoſed to

[*o*] Joſh. x. 12. Iſa. xxxvii. 8. [*p*] Exod. xiv. 21.
[*q*] Diſc. p. 34.

the

the open view and trial of men's ſenſes, would clearly confirm the divinity of the prediction. But, *the conception of a virgin*, is a Miracle of that peculiar nature, which could not be ſeen by any, nor known to any, but to the Virgin Herſelf, except by a divine revelation: ſo that the credibility of it, whether in the prediction, or in the accompliſhment, intirely depended, and ſtill depends, on the authority of the perſons, who atteſted it. With the Jews, therefore, the event was much more likely, to derive it's credit from the prediction, than the prediction from the event; becauſe the Prophets, who foretold it, had a more eſtabliſhed credit with them, than the Apoſtles, who reported the completion of it. Wherefore if, as His Lordſhip ſays, they rejected the *litteral prediction*, on the account of its incredibility, they had the ſame reaſon, or a ſtronger ſtill, for rejecting *the litteral accompliſhment* of it; unleſs he can ſhew, that the Inſpiration of the Prophets might be diſtruſted by them in this caſe, but the inſpiration of the Apoſtles could not.

He begins, however, to be aware at laſt, "that it may ſeem ſtrange, to hear a Chriſtian "Divine, pleading, as it were, for the ob- "ſcurity of the Scripture-prophecy, when it "would be thought more ſuitable to his cha- "racter, to maintain the clearneſs of it:" wherefore he pauſes here a while, to make a ſhort apology for himſelf; and *wiſhes to God, that*

all the Prophecies of the Lord were manifeſt to all his people. "But though, it is not of the "nature of Prophecy, he ſays, to be obſcure; "ſince things future may be ſpoken of as clear-"ly, as things either paſt or preſent, and Pro-"phecy be made as plain as common hiſtory: "yet obſcurity being the peculiar character of "Scripture-prophecy, it matters but little what "we may wiſh or think the beſt in the caſe, we "muſt be content with ſuch light and direc-"tion, as God has thought fit to beſtow upon "us [*r*]." Where I ſhall leave it to all candid Chriſtians to conſider; whether, if the Free-thinker's attack on the prophetic evidence of the Goſpel had been wholly ſlighted, or his argument allowed even to be true, it could have done any more harm to the credit of the Goſpel, than the Biſhop's own account of Prophecy is likely to do. The purpoſe of that Author was, to ſhew, that the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, as they are applied by the Apoſtles in the New, are in reality no proof at all, nor capable of perſuading any, but the weak and the credulous. His Lordſhip's character of Prophecy tends to the ſame end, and as far as the Apoſtles have applied the evidence of it to the confirmation of the Goſpel, muſt of conſequence weaken the credit of the Goſpel. The Prophecies of the *Pythian Apollo* were indeed obſcure, equivocal, and ambiguous, admitting

[*r*] Page 32—36, 37.

not

not onely different, but contrary ſenſes; ſo that the character here given *of the Scripture-prophecies, was undoubtedly true of them, that no event could reſtrain them to one determinate ſenſe, when they were originally capable of many.* For if the obvious ſenſe failed, as it often did, to the ruin of thoſe, who acted upon it, there was another always in reſerve, to ſecure the veracity of the Oracle: till this very character of it's ambiguous and ænigmatical ſenſes, confirmed by conſtant obſervation, gradually ſunk its credit, and finally detected the impoſture [*s*]. Is it poſſible then, that the ſame character can be due to the Jewiſh Prophecies, which the wiſe and virtuous of the Heathen World conſidered as an argument of fraud and falſehood in the Pythian Prophecies?

I have obſerved above, that His Lordſhip reduces the credit of Prophecy ſo low, as to render it of no uſe at all. But after all his pains to depreſs it, he declares it to have been given for two great purpoſes: firſt, *to ſupport the*

[*s*] Jam ad te venio,
Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obſides,
Unde ſuperſtitioſa primum fæva evaſit vox fera.

Tuis enim Oraculis Chryſippus totum volumen implevit, partim falſis, ut ego opinor, partim caſu veris, ut ſit in omni oratione fæpiſſime; partim flexiloquis, & obſcuris, ut interpres egeat interprete, & ſors ipſa ad ſortes referenda ſit; partim ambiguis, & quæ ad dialecticum referenda ſint, *&c.* Cic. de Divin. ii. 56.

faith

faith and religion of the old world; ſecondly, *to give teſtimony to the miſſion of Jeſus*, who appeals to the Prophets for the truth of it. The firſt of theſe he affirms to be the chief and moſt important end: "for there was no occaſion, he "ſays, to lay in ſo long beforehand the evi- "dence of Prophecy, to convince men of "things, that were to happen in their own "times: and that it gives a low idea of the "adminiſtration of Providence, *in* ſending Pro- "phets, one after another, in every age, from "*Adam to Chriſt*, to imagine, that all this *Ap- "paratus* was for their ſakes, who lived in, or "after the times of Chriſt [*t*]."

But if the principal end of the antient Prophecies was really ſuch, as he aſſigns to them, God would ſurely have given them a character, proper and adequate to that end. Whereas, according to his repreſentation of them, they ſeem calculated rather to ſubvert, than to ſupport the faith and religion of mankind. For it is impoſſible, *that dark ſpeeches, ambiguous phraſes, carrying no preciſe meaning, or diſtinct evidence*, ſhould produce any thing in the minds of men, but doubts, ſcruples, and uncertainties, which are all oppoſite to faith and religion. He tells us ſtill farther, "that theſe antient Prophecies, "theſe ſupports of faith and religion, were not "underſtood by thoſe, who delivered them,

[*t*] Diſc. p. 37.

" though they ſearched diligently into the " meaning of them, and if the inſpired and " righteous of the old world, to whom the " word of God came, did not underſtand them, " it is certain, that others leſs qualified could " have but a confuſed and indiſtinct notion of " them [*u*]." Where he might as well have told us, that miſts and clouds were given for the propagation of light, as *confuſed and indiſtinct notions, for the ſupport of faith.* Whatever creates faith, muſt firſt convince the underſtand-ſtanding: but Prophecies not underſtood by thoſe, who delivered them, and leſs ſtill by thoſe, who heard them, and which conveyed nothing to the mind, but confuſed and indeterminate ideas, might ſerve indeed to diſturb the faith, and pervert the religion of the world, but could never be of uſe, to ſupport or confirm them.

It is certain then, that the antient Prophecies, as they are deſcribed at leaſt by His Lordſhip, could not be chiefly intended, to ſupport the faith and religion of the Old world. But whatever character they may deſerve, or whatever light they may carry in them, it is allowed, that they all bear a relation to the perſon and coming of the Meſſiah, or that Great Prophet and Deliverer, who was to ariſe in the land of *Judæa:* and as this was the common ſubject of

[*u*] Page 28.

them

them all, ſo it was undoubtedly the principal end of them all, (though he ridicules it as a low and inferior end) to mark out, from time to time, more and more diſtinctly, the character and qualities of that expected Prophet, and to prepare the world for the reception of a new religion, wholly ſtrange and inconceiveable, not onely to the wiſeſt of men, but to the apprehenſion even of Angels. And in Prophecies of this kind, whoſe chief end was, to open gradually ſuch a wonderfull ſcheme of ſalvation and redemption, to be wrought, after a ſucceſſion of many ages, ſome obſcurity muſt neceſſarily be found, from the ſublime and myſterious nature of the ſubject itſelf.

Let us here conſider a while, how our argument now ſtands; and what light we have gained from the premiſes towards ſettling a juſt notion of *the uſe and intent of Prophecy*, which the Biſhop profeſſes to teach us in theſe Diſcourſes.

In the firſt place then, it is evident, from the practice both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, that in preaching the Goſpel to the Jews, they took all occaſions of applying the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, ſingly and ſeparately, to each remarkable circumſtance of the life and miniſtry of Jeſus, as ſo many direct and deciſive proofs of his divine miſſion. The learned Mr. *Whiſton*, who ſeems to have inquired into this ſubject with great diligence and accuracy, ſays;

" It

" It appears to me, upon a particular exami-
" nation, that not onely the Apoſtles, *who*
" *might poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be miſtaken ſome-*
" *times in ſuch applications*, but our bleſſed
" Savior himſelf, who could not be ſuppoſed
" ever to be ſo miſtaken, always quoted theſe
" texts, as really, properly, and ſingly belonging
" to himſelf, as the true Meſſias; and as juſt
" proofs that he was ſo [*w*]." Thus *Jeſus*, as I have obſerved above, applying to himſelf a particular Prophecy, in which the principal characters of the *Meſſiah* are briefly ſketched out, ſays; *This day, is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears* [*x*]. Which is a teſtimony ſurely as preciſe and diſtinct, as any can poſſibly be. The Evangeliſts alſo and Apoſtles applied the antient Prophecies in the ſame manner, as ſo many direct proofs of the truth of the Goſpel; and plainly ſignify this, to have been the genuin uſe and intent of them, in the deſignation of God himſelf; who moved his Prophets, to deliver them in that particular manner, that by tallying ſo circumſtantially with the events, they might yield a demonſtrable proof, that they could not relate to any one, but to *Jeſus*. Thus in the courſe of their ſeveral Goſpels, wherever they mention any notable act or occurrence relating to him, as prefigured in the Old Teſtament, their conſtant way of expreſſing it is; ſuch a thing

[*w*] See his Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Proph. p. 20. § x.

[*x*] Luke iv. 21.

was

was done or ſuffered by him, *that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled:* or as *Jeſus* himſelf ſays, *thus it is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day* [*y*]. Since this then was the uſe of Prophecy, which we find to have been taught and practiſed, both by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, it confutes at once the general argument of His Lordſhip's *two firſt Diſcourſes:* The purpoſe of which is, to ſhew, that the *Scripture-prophecies were never intended, to be a very diſtinct evidence*; and, if conſidered ſingly, are incapable from the nature of them, of affording any ſatisfactory proof, when *they come to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers.*

Secondly, it appears alſo from what has been ſaid, that the Evangeliſts, in collecting all the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, which they imagined to relate to *Jeſus*, never looked for them any higher, than to *the Law, and the Prophets*; nor ever appealed to any other, than what they found there; following herein the example of their Maſter, who, in expounding all the prophetic Scriptures, which were applicable to himſelf, *began with the Prophecy of Moſes* [*z*]. Thus, as St. *John* tells us, *Philip*, finding *Nathanael*, ſaid to him, *We have found him, of*

[*y*] Matth. xxi. 4. Luke xxiv. 46. John xiii. 18. xvii. 12, *&c.*

[*z*] "And beginning at *Moſes* and all the Prophets, *&c.* Luke xxiv. 27.

whom

whom Moſes, in the law, and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth *the Son of* Joſeph [*a*]. Which fact confutes likewiſe at once the grand ſcheme of his four remaining diſcourſes, and ſhews his pretended chain of *antideluvian* Prophecies, to be a vain and impertinent fancy, which has no ſort of relation to the evidence of the Goſpel.

This being the caſe, I might here put an end to my remarks, and ſpare myſelf the trouble of animadverting on the reſt of his Lordſhip's Diſcourſes; but ſince the ſubject of the third is of a very curious kind, in which he opens his grand ſcheme, *traces out the riſe and progreſs of divine Prophecy, and ſhews the real end, which God intended to ſerve by it* [*b*]; it will not perhaps be diſagreeable to the reader, to wait upon him a little farther, that, by examining the foundation, or firſt link of his prophetic chain, we may the better judge of its ability to ſuſtain that immenſe weight and length, which he aſcribes to it.

His ſcheme in ſhort is this: "that Man, like "all the other works of God, came perfect out "of the hands of the Creator; furniſhed with "light enough to ſee his duty, and to attain all "the happineſs, for which he was deſigned; "but being made a free and moral agent he

[*a*] John i. 45. [*b*] Diſc. p. 47.

"fell

" fell from his duty and incurred the diſplea-
" ſure of God. In this ſtate, having forfeited
" all title to happineſs and to life itſelf, he had
" no comfort left to him: the natural law could
" offer none; it had already condemned him;
" and could ſuggeſt nothing but a fearfull ex-
" pectation of puniſhment; all the hope, which
" remained, was; that God might freely par-
" don him upon his repentance; but whether
" he would or not, natural religion could not
" teach: and ſhould God think fit to be recon-
" ciled to him, the natural law muſt again be-
" come the rule of his future obedience; ſo
" that all his hopes and confidence muſt ariſe
" from the promiſe of God; that is, from *the*
" *word of Prophecy*; for which reaſon, Pro-
" phecy muſt ever be an eſſential part of ſuch
" a ſinner's religion.

" Our firſt Parents being reduced to this deſ-
" perate condition; deprived of all hopes by a
" ſenſe of their guilt, and under the terrible ap-
" prehenſion of the divine vengeance, God
" came down, to judge them, yet with inten-
" tions of ſhewing mercy, and reſcuing them
" finally from that ruin, which they had brought
" upon themſelves. For this end, *the word of*
" *Prophecy now came in*; not in oppoſition to
" natural religion, but in the ſupport of it, and
" to convey new hopes to man; without which
" religion could no longer have ſubſiſted in the
" world; becauſe a ſenſe of religion with-

" out

"out hope, is a ſtate of phrenzy and diſtrac-
"tion [*c*]."

The Prophecy which *is now ſaid to come in*, is a part of the ſentence, pronounced by God upon the Serpent, in theſe words; *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed; it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel:* which he calls the *groundwork and foundation of all the Prophecies, which have been ever ſince; and the ſole ſupport of religion, in the antediluvian world* [*d*]. The authority of it is grounded on the Moſaic account of the fall, conſidered as *an hiſtorical narration* of facts, ſuppoſed to have been tranſacted, in the manner as they are deſcribed: and *the more, and oftner it is conſidered*, he ſays, *in all it's circumſtances, the more will this interpretation of it prevail.* He owes however, that it might have been expected from him, *to have cleared it in the firſt place from the difficulties, which ariſe from it*, yet he thinks it ſufficient to ſay, *that nothing material could be added to what has already been ſaid on that ſubject* [*e*]. But for my part, as oft as I have had occaſion to conſider this caſe, I have ever found myſelf perſuaded ſtill more and more, that the hiſtorical ſenſe was ſo far from being the ſenſe of the writer, or in any degree probable, that it was utterly abſurd and contradictory to reaſon.

[*c*] P. 53, 54, 61, &c. [*d*] P. 54. [*e*] P. 55.

His Lordſhip ſuppoſes man to have come perfect out of the hands of his Creator, and furniſhed with ſufficient light, to ſee and to perform his duty, without *an admoniſher at every turn at his elbow* [*f*]. He ſuppoſes the law, which was given to him, as the guide of his nature, to have been complete, if he had obeyed it, but after he had once tranſgreſſed, it had no healing clauſe which could ſave him from puniſhment, till God thought fit to ſupply it by *the word of Prophecy*. This is ſmooth and plauſible, and eaſily ſwallowed by thoſe, who take every thing for ſacred which is delivered from the Pulpit: but men, who inquire into things, will meet with many abſurdities, which reaſon muſt wink at, and many incredibilities, which faith muſt digeſt, before they can admit the authority of this Prophecy, upon the evidence of this hiſtorical narration.

A natural law, we ſee, is ſuppoſed to have been implanted in the very frame of man at his creation, pointing out to him his chief good and happineſs, and enabling him to acquire it. And in truth, it is not poſſible to conceive him to have been placed upon this earth by God, without being furniſhed with natural powers, proper to ſupport and preſerve him, in that perfection of his nature, in which he was originally

[*f*] P. 50.

created.

created. Yet in this *hiſtorical narration*, we cannot diſcover the leaſt trace of any natural law, nor of any religion, which reaſon could teach. Reaſon and nature appear to have had no rule in the Paradiſiacal ſtate; all things in it were ordered miraculouſly and ſupernaturally by the immediate interpoſition of God; and the Admoniſher no ſooner retired from the elbow of our firſt Parents, than the Serpent ſtept in, and beguiled them.

Had they been left to the direction of the law, it would have taught them, that the primary end of their creation was, to propagate their ſpecies; but from this *hiſtorical narration* we find, that during their ſtate of innocence, they were utterly ignorant of this end; and did not know *their own nakedneſs*, till they were expelled out of Paradiſe. The natural law could not teach them, that the fruit of a tree would inſpire knowledge; or that *the knowledge of good and ill* could be criminal or hurtfull: nor was it the light of reaſon which directed them, *to hide themſelves from the ſight of God among the trees*. When the beaſts of the field were brought before *Adam*, that he might give names to them; the ſame law, which inſtructed him to give them names, proper to their ſeveral natures, would have taught him at the ſame time, that they were all dumb, and that the uſe of ſpeech was the peculiar privilege of man, to whom the dominion over them was given; yet in this

hiſtorical narration, we find one of the loweſt of thoſe beaſts holding diſcourſe, and debating with *Eve*, without giving the leaſt ſhock or ſurprize to her natural reaſon. Laſtly, when the wonderful works of the Creator had convinced our firſt Parents of his infinite power, and wiſdom and goodneſs, the natural law could not inform them, that there was another inviſible Being in the world, of an oppoſite nature abſolutely wicked, malicious; and endued likewiſe with great power; which he was perpetually employing, to defeat all the good and happineſs, which God had provided for his creatures: and ſince this was neither diſcoverable to their reaſon, nor revealed to them by their Maker, how can we imagine, that God would expoſe their ſimplicity, unarmed and uninſtructed, to the aſſaults of an inſidious tempter, ſo greatly ſuperior to them both in craft and power?

But his Lordſhip being apprehenſive, that the reaſoners of this world might break in upon him, and rudely unravel his fine-ſpun ſcheme, takes care to enter his proteſt againſt a certain ſet of them, whom, for the groſſneſs of their infidelity, he excludes from *all right to debate in this quæſtion*, and deſcribes under the following character:

"To ſome unbelievers, ſays he, the hiſtory "of the fall would have been altogether as in-"credible, though perhaps not quite ſo divert-"ing,

" ing, had it been told in the ſimpleſt and " plaineſt language. 'Tis to little purpoſe " therefore, to trouble them with an account " of the genius of the Eaſtern people, and " their language; for you may as ſoon perſuade " them, that a Serpent tempted *Eve*, as that " an evil ſpirit did. If you aſk, why the Devil " might not as well ſpeak to *Eve*, under the " form of a Serpent, as give out Oracles to the " old Heathen world, under that and many " other forms? you gain nothing by the quæſ- " tion; for Oracles, whether *Heathen* or *Jewiſh*, " are to them alike, they diſpute not their au- " thority, but their reality. This is a degree " of unbelief, which has no right to be admit- " ted to debate the quæſtion now under con- " ſideration [*g*]."

Every man of ſenſe muſt neceſſarily be ſurprized, to find this eminent Prelate proclaiming here from the Pulpit, the great impiety of *diſbelieving the Heathen Oracles*, or denying them to have been *given out by the Devil.* Yet whatever he may pleaſe to write, or preach concerning this heinous crime, I freely own myſelf to be guilty of it, and think myſelf ſufficiently warranted to pronounce from the authority of the beſt and wiſeſt of the Heathens themſelves, and the evidence of plain facts, which are recorded of thoſe Oracles, as well as from the na-

[*g*] P. 55.

ture of the thing itſelf, that they were all mere impoſtures, wholly invented and ſupported by human craft, without any ſupernatural aid or interpoſition whatſoever.

If his Lordſhip had read the ſhort *Hiſtory of Oracles, by M.* De Fontenelle, he would have learnt, that *Cicero*, ſpeaking of the *Delphic Oracle*, the moſt revered of any, in the Heathen world, declares, *that nothing was become more contemptible, not onely in his days, but for a long time before him*: that *Demoſthenes*, who lived about three hundred years earlier, affirmed of the ſame Oracle, in a public ſpeech to the people of *Athens*, that it *was gained to the intereſts of King* Philip, an enemy to that city: that the Greek Hiſtorians tell us, how, on ſeveral other occaſions, it had been corrupted by money, to ſerve the views of particular Princes and parties, and the Propheteſs ſometimes depoſed, for bribery, and for lewdneſs: that there were ſome great ſects of Philoſophers, who, by principle, diſavowed the authority of all Oracles: agreeably to all which, *Strabo* tells us, that Divination in general and Oracles had been in high credit among the antients, but in his days, were treated with much contempt: Laſtly, that *Euſebius* alſo, the great Hiſtorian of the primitive Church, declares, that there were *ſix hundred writers among the Heathens themſelves*, who had publicly written againſt the reality of them.

Is it not amazing then, that a Chriſtian Biſhop ſhould ſo zealouſly preach up the reality of thoſe Oracles, which the moſt learned and virtuous of the Heathens themſelves condemned as a deſpicable impoſture? But the primitive Fathers conſtantly affirmed them to have been the real effects of a ſupernatural power, and *given out by the Devil:* and this without doubt is the ground of that zeal which his Lordſhip expreſſes in favor of their reality. Yet here again, the ſame M. *De Fontenelle* would have informed him, that, while thoſe Fathers preferred that way of combating the authority of the Oracles, as the moſt commodious to themſelves and to the ſtate of the controverſy, between them and the Heathens, yet they believed them at the ſame time, to be nothing elſe, but the effects of human fraud and contrivance: which he has illuſtrated, by the examples of *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Euſebius* [*b*].

I chuſe to refer his Lordſhip on this occaſion, to the learned and ingenious M. *de Fontenelle*, who is a Papiſt, ſtill living in a Popiſh country; where he enjoys, in a good old age, the full credit and reſpect, which is due to his great merit, notwithſtanding his avowed *unbelief of the Heathen Oracles*, and the fatal blow which he has given to their authority: while the ſame

[*b*] Hiſt. des Oracles par M. *De Fontenelle*, vid. *Strabo*, l. xvii. p. 1168. A.

unbelief in this free or Proteſtant country, is declared here by a Proteſtant Biſhop to be of ſo criminal a nature, that it ought at leaſt to be ſilenced, and baniſhed from all philoſophical or religious debate. His Lordſhip addreſſes himſelf in the next place to another ſet of Unbelievers, *not infidels*, he ſays, *with regard to religion in general*, like the firſt ſort, who deny the *reality of the Heathen Oracles*, but whoſe minds *are ſhocked onely with ſome particular circumſtances of this Hiſtory:* with theſe therefore he condeſcends to debate in the following manner, and ſays, "I deſire them to conſider, that the ſpe-
"culations ariſing from the hiſtory of the fall,
"and the introduction of natural and moral
"evil into the world, are of all others the moſt
"abſtruſe, and furtheſt removed out of our
"reach: that this difficulty led men in the ear-
"lieſt time, to imagine two independent prin-
"ciples of good and evil; a notion deſtructive
"of the ſovereignty of God, the maintenance
"of which is the principal end and deſign of
"the Moſaic hiſtory. Had the hiſtory of man's
"fall plainly introduced an inviſible evil be-
"ing, to confound the works of God, and to
"be the author of iniquity, it might have
"given great countenance to this error, of
"two Principles: or, to prevent it, *Moſes* muſt
"have writ an hiſtory of *the Angels fall* like-
"wiſe; a point I ſuppoſe, to which his com-
"miſſion did not extend, and of which per-
"haps we are not capable judges; and ſince

"this

" this difficulty might in a great meaſure be
" avoided, by having recourſe to the common
" uſage of the Eaſtern countries, which was
" to clothe hiſtory in parables and ſimilitudes,
" it ſeems not improbable, that for this reaſon
" the hiſtory of the fall was put into the dreſs
" in which we now find it [*i*]."

I am at a loſs to conceive, what his Lordſhip can aim at in this paragraph, or how it can poſſibly remove the ſcruples of thoſe, to whom it is addreſſed. To the former ſet of unbelievers, who are enemies to religion, this hiſtory, he tells us, is *diverting*; but to theſe, it ſeems, who are friends to it, it is *ſhocking*: yet the hiſtory itſelf all the while is quite harmleſs and inoffenſive, if taken in it's right ſenſe; and the whole ground either of the diverſion, which it gives to the enemies, or of ſcandal, to the friends of religion, lies in the abſurd interpretations, and ſenſeleſs whims, which the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Divines have in all ages been ingrafting upon it.

For inſtance, if it is to be received as a literal, or *hiſtorical narration* of things, tranſacted in the manner in which they are deſcribed, then the diſcourſe of a Serpent, tempting and beguiling our firſt Parents, muſt needs appear ſhocking to every man: or if, as his Lordſhip would perſuade us, the Devil, under that bor-

[*i*] P. 56, 57.

rowed

rowed form, was the real temptor; this is ſtill more ſhocking, as being not onely void of all ſupport from the text, but contradictory to the expreſs ſenſe of it, which aſcribes the ſucceſs of the Serpent, to the natural ſubtilty of the beaſt; *Now the Serpent was more ſubtil than any beaſt of the field, which the Lord God had made, and he ſaid unto the woman*, &c. [*k*]. The curſe alſo denounced againſt the deceiver, reſtrains it to a mere Serpent. *Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattel, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed; it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel* [*l*]. For this being the whole ſentence, which was pronounced on the Deceiver, and the litteral execution of it upon the ſerpent, being verified to us at this day, by the nature of that animal, it ſhews, that it muſt have been pronounced upon a real Serpent, excluſively of any other agent, or it could not poſſibly be juſt. But the introduction of the Devil embarraſſes the caſe ſtill more, as it is more glaringly inconſiſtent with the Attributes of the Deity; which the Biſhop in effect confeſſes, yet, with his uſual dexterity, clears the narration from any objection of that ſort, by this curious obſervation; *that if an inviſible evil Being had indeed been plainly introduced into*

[*k*] Gen. iii. 1. [*l*] Ib. ver. 14, 15.

the

the ſcene, it might have given great countenance to the error, of two independent principles; but *Moſes* being aware of this, and having no commiſſion to write *an Hiſtory of the fall of the Angels*, which would have accounted for the origin of evil, not being at liberty therefore to introduce the Devil openly, contrived, for the ſake of avoiding that inconvenience, to keep him always out of ſight, and behind the curtain, as it were, *by clothing the ſtory, after the Eaſtern faſhion, in parables and ſimilitudes.*

No paragraph ſurely, in which a point of ſuch high importance is treated, was ever more conſpicuouſly trifling than this. The difficulty, which his Lordſhip attempts to account for, is the introduction of natural and moral evil into the world; and the ſumm of what he ſuggeſts for the comfort of thoſe, who are ſhocked by it, is; " that it is a point of all others the moſt " abſtruſe, and what gave birth to the perni- " cious notion of two *independent Principles of* " *good and ill:* that if God had inſtructed *Moſes* " to give us an hiſtory *of the fall of the Angels*, " it would have prevented this error; but ſince " *Moſes's* commiſſion did not reach ſo far, he " could not openly introduce into the hiſtory " of man's fall, an inviſible evil Being, who " was able to confound the works of God, " without ſtrengthening the ſaid error: where- " fore he contrived to introduce him in maſ- " querade, or in the dreſs of a Serpent; ſo that

" though

" though the weak and ſimple could not diſco-
" ver him, yet the ſharp-ſighted and judicious
" might ſtill find him out, and be inabled by
" that means, to ſatisfy both their own and
" other people's ſcruples, and unfold this ab-
" ſtruſe quæſtion, of the origin of evil.

" For the Serpent, adds his Lordſhip, was
" remarkable for inſidious cunning, and there-
" fore ſtood a proper emblem of a Deceiver,
" and yet being one of the loweſt of the crea-
" tures, the emblem gave no ſuſpicion of any
" power concerned, that might pretend to ri-
" val the creator. This method has not ſo
" obſcured this Hiſtory, but that we may with
" great certainty come to the knowledge of all
" that is neceſſary for us to know. Let us
" conſider the hiſtory of *Moſes*, as we ſhould
" do any other ancient hiſtory of like antiquity:
" ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that this account of the
" fall had been preſerved to us out of *Sanconi-*
" *atho's Phœnician Hiſtory.*—'Tis no unreaſon-
" able thing ſurely, to demand the ſame equity
" in interpreting the ſenſe of *Moſes*, as you
" would certainly uſe towards any other ancient
" writer.[*m*]."

This demand indeed is reaſonable; and what all the lovers of truth will allow; that the books of *Moſes* have a right to be interpreted with the

[*m*] P. 57.

ſame

ſame candor, which is commonly indulged to all other ancient writers. Upon this foot then we will join iſſue, and conſider the hiſtory of the fall, and the particular condemnation of the Serpent, as a ſtory delivered to us by ſome old *Phœnician Hiſtorian*. But before I declare my own opinion upon it in this light, it may be more ſatisfactory perhaps to the reader, to be informed of what an abler writer has already declared upon it; I mean the late Dr. *Burnet of the Charter-Houſe*, who ſpeaking to this very point, of the *Scriptural account of the fall*, ſays;

" Great is the force of prejudice and preconceived opinions on the minds of men. We " receive theſe ſhort commentaries and little " ſtories, of the origin of men and things, from " the mouth of *Moſes*, without examination or " heſitation: but if we had met with the ſame " doctrine in another writer; in *a Greek Philoſopher* for inſtance, or in a *Jewiſh* or *Mahometan* Doctor, the mind would have been " perplexed and ſet faſt, as it were, in every " period, by doubts and objections. This difference ariſes not from the nature of the " thing, or the matter of thoſe writings, but " from our opinion of the credit and authority " of the writer, as of one divinely inſpired. " And this indeed we freely allow to him, nor " are we diſputing on this occaſion, about the " authority of the writer, but about the view " and intention, with which he wrote, and the " character

" character of the ſtile, which he made uſe of;
" whether it was of the popular, or philoſophic
" kind: the popular I ſay, not the fabulous
" though we might call it alſo by this name,
" if we were treating of any other writer, but
" thoſe of the Scriptures. As to the caſe of
" Fables, ſome of them are merely and abſo-
" lutely fictitious: others are built on a foun-
" dation of fact, but dreſſed out with additional
" and fancifull ornaments. There are likewiſe
" certain narrations, by which truth is convey-
" ed to us, yet not in the particular points or
" ſentences, but from the ſumm of the whole
" narration, and the general purpoſe of the
" Author: and if the narration now in quæſtion
" ſhould be ranked by any one in this claſs,
" with due reſpect had to the name and honor
" of the writer, I ſhall not be againſt it [*n*]."

We ſee here, what ſort of character this very able and ingenious writer aſcribes to *the Hiſtory of the fall*, when conſidered abſtractedly from the authority of *Moſes*. The Biſhop on the other hand is extremely ſhy of declaring his opinion concerning the proper claſs or ſpecies of writing in which it may be ranked, and avoids to give any explicit definition of it, or to tell us, of what kind he takes it to be, whether of the *litteral*, the *parabolical*, the *allegorical*; or the *fabulous*; nay he ſpeaks of it on all occa-

[*n*] Vid. Thom. Burnetii Theor. Sacr. & Archæolog. ibid. adjunct. p. 503. Edit. Amſt.

ſions, ſo obſcurely and equivocally, as if he meant to leave himſelf at liberty to take it in any of them, which may beſt ſuit his own ſyſtem; or in all of them rather in their turns, by applying one kind of it to one part, and a different one to another, He pronounces it, in the firſt place, to be an *Hiſtorical narration*: which leads us to expect nothing from it but the literal ſenſe: yet he informs us, in the next page, how *Moſes*, for certain reaſons, choſe to clothe it *in parables and ſimilitudes*, after the manner of the Eaſtern writers [*o*]. Then he returns preſently to the letter, and ſays, *that there were four perſons evidently concerned in the ſtory, the man, and the woman, the perſon repreſented by the ſerpent, and God*: that the three firſt were *ſtanding before God, to receive ſentence for their diſobedience*; that the *judgment was awfull and ſevere*; *the woman doomed to ſorrow in conception*; *the man to ſorrow and travel all the days of his life*; and the ground itſelf *curſed for their ſake*—that upon the Serpent alſo, this curſe was pronounced; *upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed, it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel* [*p*]. Yet after he has ſuppoſed all this to have been litterally tranſacted, in the very manner in which it is deſcribed; he procedes again, to laugh at the litteral ſenſe, as contradictory to common ſenſe;

[*o*] Diſc. p. 57. [*p*] Page 58, 60, &c.

and

and declares the *language of this Prophecy*, or curſe upon the Serpent, *to be in part metaphorical* [*q*].

This is the whole, which he has thought fit to declare, concerning the ſtile and nature of the Moſaic account; *that it is Hiſtorical, but clothed in parables and ſimilitudes, and in ſome part metaphorical.* Now what idea any other reader may form, from ſuch a deſcription, I know not; for my part, I can form none: and though he has jumbled *hiſtory*, *parable*, *ſimilitude*, and *metaphor*, into the compoſition of this narrative, it is certain, that, if thoſe terms be taken ſtrictly, it will be difficult to diſcover any one of them in it; but on the contrary, every thing as plain and litteral, as language can make it. *The man, the woman and the Serpent* are declared to be perſonally ſtanding before God in Paradiſe; without the leaſt ſhadow of any *ſimilitude*, *metaphor*, *compariſon*, or *alluſion* to any other being whatſoever: yet we cannot properly call it a parable; for though a parable be a mere fiction, it is defined to be of ſuch a ſort, as muſt always be probable, or what might poſſibly be true: nor can it be an hiſtory, for though it be a plain deſcription of facts, yet they are all apparently fictitious, and impoſſible to be performed in the manner, in which they are deſcribed. What then, are we

[*q*] Page 65.

to think of it? Why, we may give it either the general name of an *allegory*, by which a different ſenſe is conveyed, than what is ſignified by words: or we may call it rather an *Apologue* or *moral fable*; the peculiar character of which is, to relate things and events, impoſſible in their nature: which is evidently the caſe of the narrative in quæſtion.

But to return to the point, from which I have digreſſed. His Lordſhip having ſubmitted the ſtory to our examination, abſtractedly from the authority of *Moſes*, or as grounded onely on the teſtimony of any other antient writer, proceeds, like an able Advocate, to lay it before us, in the moſt advantageous light. He obſerves, "that if the man and the woman, "who were ſtanding before God under the con- "viction of their guilt, had been left to under- "go the ſeverity of their ſentence, without any "ſource of hope or comfort remaining to them, "that would have made them deſperate, and "extinguiſhed all ſenſe of religion in them, as "taking themſelves to be utterly rejected by "their Maker: but that God came down in "mercy, as well as judgement, and with a "purpoſe, not onely to puniſh, but to reſtore "man: which purpoſe was ſignified, by the "curſe pronounced upon the Serpent, or the "Deceiver, and eſpecially by that part, in "which it is declared, *that the ſeed of the woman* "*ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's head.* That it

" was abſolutely neceſſary, to communicate ſo " much hope to them, as might be a rational " foundation, for their future endeavours to " reconcile themſelves to God by a better obe- " dience. And it was neceſſary alſo to the " ſtate of the world and the condition of reli- " gion, which could not poſſibly have been " ſupported without the communication of ſuch " hopes, that they could not but conceive theſe " hopes, when they heard from the mouth of " God, that the Serpent's victory was not com- " plete even over themſelves; but that they and " their poſterity ſhould be inabled to conteſt " his Empire; and though they were to ſuffer " much in the ſtruggle, ſhould finally prevail " and *bruiſe his head*, and deliver themſelves " from his power and dominion [*r*]."

In this ſtate of the caſe, the Biſhop ſuppoſes all the while, that the Devil was the real deceiver, under the borrowed form of the Serpent; which, though *Adam and Eve* did not then underſtand, they might however, have ſome reaſon to ſuſpect; *for they had found the Serpent by experience, to be an enemy to God, and to man; and the great Author of iniquity in the world, who was able to debaſe the nobleſt work of the creation:* yet, by the curſe and puniſhment inflicted upon him, they ſaw, that God was ſtill his ſuperior, and conſequently, that there was no evil Being,

[*r*] Page 60—64.

which

which could rival the power of the Creator: thus *the condemnation of the Serpent*, as his Lordſhip ſays, was *the maintenance of God's ſupremacy*, and *the divine Prophecy*, which was declared by it, became a freſh ſource *of hope and comfort, and religion* to our *firſt Parents* under the miſery of their fall.

Let us now then take a review of the ſtory, agreeably to his own demand, as if it had been told to us by *Sanconiatho*. And in this way of conſidering it, the firſt reflection, which would occur, is, that it was not poſſible for any mortal, to give an Hiſtorical narration of the events therein repreſented; or to deſcribe the particular manner, order, and time in which, or the materials, out of which this world, and it's principal inhabitant, man, were formed. We ſhould apply preſently to ſuch a writer, what was ſaid by God to Job, *Where waſt thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou haſt underſtanding*, &c. [*s*]. And ſhould think the ſame of him, which *Job* confeſſes of himſelf, *that he had uttered, what he underſtood not; things too wonderfull for him, which he knew not* [*t*]. We ſhould conclude at once, that the whole, which the wiſeſt of men could write on ſuch a ſubject, muſt be the mere effect of fancy and invention; or an attempt to inculcate ſome moral truth, where phyſical truth was not to be had.

[*s*] Job xxxviii. 4. [*t*] Job xliii. 3.

It may be ſaid perhaps, that an account of man's fall might have been delivered by *Adam* to his poſterity, and tranſmitted from hand to hand through the ſucceeding ages, by the pious and faithfull of the antient world. But this will be of no weight with inquiſitive men: who know from all experience, that the teſtimony of tradition is of all others the moſt fallacious, and ever found the moſt fabulous, in proportion, as it is antient. They know, that, in the preſent ſtate of mankind, how much ſoever poliſhed by arts and ſciences, there is not a ſingle nation, which can trace any probable tradition of it's own origin, or give any ſatisfactory account of it's hiſtory, beyond a few of theſe later centuries: they would think it therefore ridiculous to imagine, that, after an interval of near three thouſand years, a preciſe account could be given of a perſonal conference between *God, the man, the woman and the Serpent*, in *Paradiſe*; the ſituation of which place has never been known to the world, after the moſt diligent inquiry, to this very day. Thus from the nature of the ſtory itſelf, if it had been told to us by any one, but *Moſes*, we ſhould readily conclude, that no writer whatſoever could be ſo ſufficiently informed of it, as to be able to give an *hiſtorical narration* of it; or could have authority enough, to make it paſs for ſuch, with any judicious reader: and we ſhould pronounce it therefore *at once*, to be one of thoſe Antient

Apologues

Apologues or *Moral Fables*, by which the Sages of the Eaſtern countries, uſed to inſtruct their people in the general principles of religion and morality, and attempt to illuſtrate the origin and nature of theſe worldly things.

For if we ſuppoſe any wiſe and virtuous man of thoſe early ages, to have projected a ſcheme, to reform the general corruption and degeneracy of manners, which he obſerved to prevail in the world, by infuſing into his fellow creatures a ſenſe of duty and religion, proper to their nature, and conducive to their happineſs, he could not take any method ſo effectual, as to perſuade them in the firſt place, that this world, and all things in it derived their exiſtence from a Creator, who alone was without beginning or end of days: that the Creator had given a being to man, for the ſake of communicating happineſs to him, and made him capable of acquiring and preſerving it, by his own ſtrength; but that man, deviating from the law of his nature, and the guidance of his reaſon, and giving himſelf up to the rule of his luſts, and appetites, had debaſed the dignity of his nature; levelled himſelf, as it were, to the condition of the brutes; incurred the diſpleaſure of His Maker; and rendered himſelf obnoxious to puniſhment; without any means of recovering the divine favor, or reſtoring himſelf to his original happineſs, but by deſerting that beſtial rule of ſenſual

ſual pleaſure, which had beguiled him into a ſtate of guilt and miſery.

Theſe are the fundamental points of all religion, and of neceſſary belief, for the reformation of a depraved world: and theſe are clearly inculcated, to the level even of all capacities, by the ſtory now before us, if conſidered in that character, in which it would certainly have been propoſed, by every antient writer of the eaſtern world; that is, as one of thoſe inſtructive and moral fictions, to which we may give the name of *Apologue*, or *fable*, or *allegory*, or of any thing rather, than of an *Hiſtorical narration*, with which it is utterly incompatible. This, I ſay, is what we ſhould judge of it, if it had come from *Sanconiatho*. We could not avoid ſeeing the intention of the writer, in imagining man to have been formed out of *the duſt of the earth*; and the woman, out of *the rib of man*; in placing them, while they continued innocent, in *a Paradiſe*, ſtored with every thing proper to ſupport and perpetuate their happineſs: we ſhould perceive this *Paradiſe*, to be nothing elſe but a fancifull Scene, abounding with fruits, which had no exiſtence in nature, and planted in a part of the Eaſt, which no geography could ever mark out upon the face of this Globe: we ſhould ſee alſo, that the ſubtil diſcourſe of the Serpent, which beguiled *Eve*, could mean nothing elſe but the tempting ſuggeſtions of luſt and ſenſual appetite, of which the

the Serpent was the emblem; and that their expulſion out of *Paradiſe* pointed out the natural effects of ſin and guilt, in depriving man of his happineſs, and plunging him into miſery, ſorrow, and death. Which account of the matter is no other, than what St. *James* himſelf gives of the natural method, by which men are uſually beguiled to debaſe the purity of their nature; where he ſays; *that every man is tempted, when he is drawn away and enticed by his own luſt: and that luſt, when it has conceived, bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is accompliſhed, bringeth forth death* [*u*].

This way of inculcating a notion of the fall, or lapſed ſtate of man, is perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Eaſtern writers; and as the moral of it is plain and obvious, ſo it is the onely way of inculcating it, which mere reaſon could ſuggeſt to any writer. And by the ſame fable, the Author meant without doubt, to account alſo after the Eaſtern faſhion, for the abject ſtate of *the Serpentine race*, now *creeping upon its belly, licking the duſt, and in perpetual hoſtility with man, whoſe heel it ſometimes bites*, while man more frequently finds means *to bruiſe his head*. For the curſe upon the Serpent, inſtead of containing *any divine prophecy*, ſeems to carry nothing more in it, according to all rational interpretation, than a fancifull ſolution of the cauſe and origin of the preſent odious nature of

[*u*] James i. 14.

that beaſt, agreeable to the manner of thoſe antient Sages.

But after all; I freely remit to His Lordſhip all the advantage, which I might draw from his conceſſion of conſidering this ſtory abſtractedly from the authority of *Moſes*. I will grant it to come from *Moſes*, and that *Moſes* was commiſſioned by God to write it: yet this makes no difference in the caſe, becauſe the matter of the ſtory, whether it be inſpired or not, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the character of *an hiſtorical narration*, and muſt ever convince all, who conſider it without prejudice, that it is wholly fabulous or allegorical: and that *Moſes*'s commiſſion was accommodated on this occaſion, as it is allowed to have been on many others, to the prevailing taſt and cuſtoms of the nations around him; among whom the uſual method of inſtructing or inculcating truths, eſpecially thoſe of a ſublime and theological kind, was by fables and allegories, which conveyed a ſummary notion of the doctrine propoſed to be taught, by a way the moſt ſtriking and entertaining to the generality of mankind.

Thus the plantation *of a Paradiſe* for the habitation of man; *the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the midſt of it; the expulſion of him out of it after his fall; the cherubim and flaming ſword*, placed as a guard to it; *God coming down to walk in it, in the cool of the day*;

day; *Adam hiding himſelf among the trees from the ſight of God*; *the diſcourſe of the Serpent*; *and the curſe pronounced upon him by God, and upon the ground alſo itſelf*: muſt all be conſidered as a mere Eaſtern fable, from which no other leſſon or doctrine can be inferred, than what I have already intimated; that this world was created by God; and that man was happy in it, as long as he continued innocent, but forfeited his happineſs, and became wretched and miſerable, as ſoon as he became a wilful and habitual ſinner. This, I ſay, is the whole, which we can rationally collect from *the Moſaic account of the fall*; but to draw divine and litteral prophecies out of a mere fable, and to treat it as the *ſupport of all religion in the Antediluvian world, and the foundation of all the prophetic evidence*, which the Chriſtian religion has to depend upon, is more likely to weaken than confirm the authority of Chriſtianity; and deſerves rather to be ranked among the dreams of Viſionaries and Enthuſiaſts, than conſidered, as the ſuggeſtion of ſober ſenſe and reaſon.

In converſing formerly on this ſubject with a certain great Prelate, he ſaid, *that he looked upon the litteral and the allegorical interpretation of the account of the fall, to be of equal force and merit, with reſpect to their uſe, or application to Chriſtianity*. — I underſtood him then to mean, what I ſtill take to be the ſole meaning of his words, which carries any ſenſe in it; that though

though the ſimpler ſort of Chriſtians generally interpret this ſtory it its groſs and litteral ſenſe, while the more knowing and liberal look upon it as a fable or allegory; yet both of them acknowledge the ſame end in it; draw the ſame doctrine from it; and conſider that doctrine, whether delivered allegorically or hiſtorically, as the foundation of their common religion.

If I ſhould name this Prelate, His Lordſhip, I am ſure, would own his authority to be juſtly great with all men, and greater ſtill with himſelf, than with any; yet when he comes to handle the ſame ſtory, neither *the letter*, nor *the allegory* can ſatisfy him, nor any other uniform, and conſiſtent rule of explaining it. He cannot allow it to be litteral; becauſe the letter is ſhocking to our reaſon: nor will he grant it to be *fabulous*; becauſe a fable cannot be the foundation of a prophecy, which his ſyſtem requires: he contrives therefore, to jumble all the various interpretations of it together, till by the help of that confuſion he may ſhuffle his own ſenſe upon us. And thus a prophecy is cooked up, of which there is not the leaſt intimation in the narrative itſelf; and which the Author of it, *Moſes*, has on no occaſion recommended or pointed out to us as ſuch, in any other part of his writings: yet this is affirmed to be *the groundwork and foundation of all the later prophecies*, which have any relation to the Chriſtian religion.

To

To this Diſcourſe on *prophecy*, His Lordſhip here adds a ſummary account alſo of the uſe and intent of *ſacrifice*; and though the reader perhaps may not readily perceive, what relation the one has to the other, yet in the few paragraphs, that remain, he will preſently be taught that there is a cloſe connexion between them; which the Biſhop opens to us, by ſaying; "that the bringing in of prophecy was not the "only change in the ſtate of religion, occa- "ſioned by the fall. Sacrifice came in at the "ſame time, as appears by the courſe of the "hiſtory [*w*]." This he ſuppoſes at once to have been of *divine inſtitution*: though the text gives not the leaſt hint of any ſuch origin; and the learned *Spencer*, who had conſidered this quæſtion as accurately perhaps as any man, expreſly rejects it, and maintains, "That the rite of "ſacrificing did not derive it's birth from any "command of God, but from the free will "and appointment of man, expreſſing his gra- "titude to the Creator, for all the good things, "which he had received from him [*x*].

The Biſhop however having thus ſettled in a few words *the divine inſtitution of ſacrifice*, pro-

[*w*] Diſc. p. 73.

[*x*] Primo, probare conabor, Abelem, Noachum, alioſque Moſe vetuſtiores, ſponte ſua ſacrificaſſe, adeoque ſacrificandi ritum non e præcepto aliquo divino, ſed inſtituto & arbitrio humano originem derivaſſe. De Legib. Hebræor. Vol. ii. l. iii. c. iv. § i. p. 767.

cedes

cedes to explane the reaſon, why *Abel's ſacrifice was accepted, and Cain's rejected.* The text informs us, that *Abel brought his offering of the firſtlings of his flock and the fat thereof*; *Cain of the fruit of the ground:* upon which he immediately forms theſe following ſuppoſitions: firſt, that the original *intent of ſacrifice, was to expiate ſin:* ſecondly, that *without blood* there could be no *remiſſion of ſin:* thirdly, that *Abel's* ſacrifice was of a *bloody kind:* fourthly, that *Abel came a petitioner for pardon,* and brought with him accordingly *the proper atonement for ſin,* as God had appointed it; whereas *Cain,* truſting to his primogeniture, came proudly, *as wanting no pardon,* and with an offering, expreſſive onely of his thanks and gratitude to God, for favors already received; for which reaſon it was rejected [*y*]. Now by the ſame method of reaſoning, and the liberty, which His Lordſhip every where aſſumes, of ſuppoſing whatever premiſes he wants, and taking every thing for granted, which tends to confirm his hypotheſis, we may prove any doctrine to be true or divine, or whatever we pleaſe to make of it. *Dr. Lightfoot* has ſhewn us the way, in his comment on this very text; where he lays open the myſtery of the ſentence upon the ſerpent, as well as of the inſtitution of ſacrifice, and ſays; "Chriſt "is here promiſed, before the man and the "woman are cenſured,—Adam layeth hold on

[*y*] Page 75.

"that

" that promiſe by Faith—and for an outward " ſign and ſeal of this faith, and for a farther " and more lively expreſſion of the ſame, God " teacheth him the right of ſacrifice, to lay " Chriſt dying before his eyes in a viſible " figure [z]." Yet the text itſelf yields not the leaſt intimation concerning Chriſt, or a redeemer of mankind, nor a ſingle word about the uſe, intent or duty of ſacrificing; and the whole, which the narrative itſelf ſuggeſts to us, or the learned have collected with any probability from the ſacrifices of the two brothers, is; that the different treatment, which they received from God, flowed from the different nature, not of the offerings, but of the men: that *Abel* came with a ſincere heart, and a warm ſenſe of his duty and gratitude to his Maker; *Cain*, with an envious and hypocritical heart; harbouring vicious luſts, and projecting malicious deſigns [a]. But the Biſhop inſiſts, that his account of the matter is favored by the text, where God thus expoſtulates with *Cain*; *If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doſt not well, ſin lieth at thy door:* from which, he extorts a ſenſe conformable to his ſuppoſitions above mentioned, while the obvious and natural ſenſe of the words ſeems plainly to overthrow them all, and to carry the ſame

[z] Vol. i. p. 692.

[a] *Cain was of that wicked one, and ſlew his brother. Wherefore ſlew he him? becauſe his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.* 1 John iii. 12.

meaning

meaning, as if God had ſaid: "How canſt "thou be ſo fooliſh, as to imagine, that I "ſhould be pleaſed with ſuch offerings, and "vain offices of thy duty to me, as theſe? "Does not thy reaſon teach thee, that as long "as thou doſt well, thou wilt ſurely be accept-"ed by me, whether thou ſacrificeſt or not: "but if thou continueſt to do ill, that the guilt "of ſin will ever lie upon thee, and the puniſh-"ment of it be ſure to overtake thee; which "no ſacrifice can atone for; no offering ex-"piate."

The divine acceptance of any particular ſacrifice under the law was uſually ſignified *by a flame of fire*, iſſuing miraculouſly from heaven, and conſuming the ſaid ſacrifice: and this teſtimony is ſuppoſed by the Jewiſh Doctors to have been given to the ſacrifice of *Abel:* which *Grotius* takes to be probable, and St. *Jerom* alſo confirms; for *how could Cain know*, ſays he, *that his brother's ſacrifice was accepted and his own rejected, but by this ſign, which was given afterwards alſo to Elias, on Mount Carmel, and to Solomon, in the dedication of the Temple* [*b*]. But this way of ſignifying the divine acceptance,

[*b*] Unde ſcire poterat Cain, quod fratris munera ſuſcepiſſet Deus, & ſua repudiaſſet; niſi illa interpretatio vera eſt, quam *Theodoſion* poſuit; *Et inflammavit Dominus ſuper Abel & ſuper ſacrificium ejus: ſuper Cain vero & ſacrificium ejus non inflammavit?* &c. Hieron. Quæſt. Grot. in Geneſ. Op. tom. ii. p. 511.

was accompanied, as the learned *Fagius* informs us from the Jewiſh traditions, by this particular circumſtance; that *in the cæleſtial flame, which conſumed the ſacrifice, there always appeared the face of a lion:* and *if this be true,* ſays he, *who can doubt of it's being a type of Chriſt, who is that Lion of the tribe of Judah, which is ſhadowed out to us by all thoſe ſacrifices, both before the laws and under it* [*c*]. Agreeably to which, *Dr. Lightfoot* again takes notice, "that the faith "of *Abel* appeared in the very materials of his "ſacrifice, it being of ſlain beaſts, and ſo a "repreſentation of the death of Chriſt, for "which reaſon it was fired from heaven, and "*Cain's* was not, though his dry ears of corn "were materials far more combuſtible [*d*]."

Here then we diſcover his Lordſhip's reaſon, for tacking this account of ſacrifice, to his account of prophecy. The intent of both, it ſeems, was the ſame; and the firſt ſacrifice in the world, as well as the firſt prophecy, was a typical præfiguration of Chriſt: for whether the tradition of *the Lion's face* be true or not, it gave his Lordſhip at leaſt an uſeful hint, *of a prophetic ſenſe in the ſacrifice of Abel.* And thus after a ſeries of ſuppoſitions, deduced through two pages, every one of which has been controverted and rejected by the ableſt writers on the

[*c*] Vid. Fagium in Geneſ. iv. 4. apud Critic. Sacr.
[*d*] Vol. I. p. 693.

ſubject, he procedes to tell us, " that his inter-
" pretation, if admitted, plainly ſhews; that
" the true religion, inſtituted by God, has
" been one and the ſame from the fall of
" *Adam*, ſubſiſting ever upon the ſame princi-
" ples of faith; that is, as he himſelf explanes
" it, *on a reliance on God's promiſes and appoint-*
" *ments*, or the hopes of a redemption by Chriſt,
" ſignified to our firſt parents, by the curſe
" pronounced upon the Serpent, and the ac-
" ceptance of *Abel's* ſacrifice. Theſe hopes
" were at firſt onely general and obſcure, but
" were gradually opened and unfolded in every
" age, till better days came, when God thought
" good to call us into the marvellous light of
" his Goſpel [*e*]."

To this ſummary account of his ſcheme, he adds the following ſhort paragraph, with which he concludes this notable diſcourſe;

" This piece of hiſtory is all the account we
" have of the religion of the Antediluvian
" world: it was proper to be conſidered, for
" the relation there is between prophecy and
" the ſtate of religion in the world; and for
" this reaſon alſo, becauſe *ſacrifice may perhaps*
" *be found to be one kind of prophecy*, or repre-
" ſentation of the one great ſacrifice, once
" offered for the ſins of the world."

[*e*] P. 75.

Such

Such are the curious refinements, which we muſt receive upon the authority of this Prelate, as the fundamental principles of that faith, on which our religion ſubſiſts. Principles which utterly excluded an throw aſide the natural law, or reaſon of man, as of no uſe or ſervice to him, from the beginning of the world to this day, in diſcerning what is right and wrong, or marking out the chief good and happineſs of his nature: and no wonder, that they wage a perpetual war with reaſon, ſince they muſt either ſuppreſs reaſon, or reaſon will finally deſtroy them. For inſtead of recommending a calm and natural way of thinking on ſubjects, the moſt important, they tend to fill our heads with fanatical conceits, and enthuſiaſtic fancies; drawing our attention away from the nature of things, and the teſtimony of plain facts, and applying it to the inveſtigation of myſteries, prophecies, types, ſhadows, or every thing, which God has thought proper to hide, inſtead of revealing to us. In ſhort, when men's ſearches into the ſcriptures are directed by theſe principles, the moſt favorable treatment which can be given to them, is to rank them in the ſame claſs with the vain amuſements of thoſe ſimple people, who pleaſe themſelves with looking up to the heavens, not to contemplate the real beauty, order, and motions of the heavenly bodies, but to ſpy monſters in the clouds, or the typical figures of mountains, caſtles, beaſts, and men; the crea-

tures not of God, but of their own imagination.

I have now ſaid enough, to give the reader a juſt notion of the Biſhop's celebrated Diſcourſes, concerning *the uſe and intent of the Scripture prophecies*, conſidered either ſingly, and independently on each other, or in that comprehenſive ſcheme and chain of them, which he deduces from *Adam*. But before I diſmiſs the ſubject, I muſt beg the reader to recollect what I have before obſerved, concerning the uſe of prophecy, as it was actually taught and practiſed by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts:

1ſt, That, in preaching the Goſpel to the *Jews*, they conſtantly applied the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, *ſingly and independently on each other*, to all the remarkable circumſtances of the life of *Jeſus*, as ſo many deciſive proofs of his divine miſſion.

2dly. That in their ſearch and allegation of thoſe prophecies, *they began always with Moſes*, as the firſt Prophet, who had ſpoken of Chriſt, in the delivery of his law to the people.

From theſe two Obſervations, it follows, that, whatever difficulties may be charged to the particular applications of prophecies, which are found in the New Teſtament, yet on the whole, that way of applying them muſt be eſteemed by

by Chriſtians, as the beſt, which the caſe affords; and that the authority of the Goſpel, as far as it is grounded on prophecy, reſts on thoſe ſingle and independent predictions, which are delivered occaſionally here and there, *in the Law of the Prophets*. It muſt be confeſſed however, that the Author, againſt whom the Biſhop's Diſcourſes are levelled, has alledged ſeveral ſtrong and even unanſwerable objections to ſome of them, which are cited by the Evangeliſts in proof of the miſſion of Jeſus, as being of too looſe and precarious a nature, to build any ſolid argument upon. This his Lordſhip ſeems to allow in his Preface, and intimates, that it was this difficulty, which induced him to quit that field to the Adverſary, and to take ſhelter in his *Antediluvian* ſcheme.

But if this foundation, laid by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, muſt be deſerted, and their applications of prophecy given up as defenceleſs, it is certain, that there is no other ſcheme of it, which can add any real ſupport to the authority of the Goſpel. It is our buſineſs therefore to take things, as we find them, and treat them agreeably to their nature, neither aſcribing a divine character to what is common and natural; nor denying a due reverence to what is ſacred and divine. This is what I endeavoured to do many years ago, with regard to this very quæſtion; at a time when it was warmly controverted, and many ſubtil objec-

tions raiſed upon this article of prophecy, to the diſadvantage of the Chriſtian cauſe; on which occaſion, inſtead of contriving any evaſive expedients, or fancifull ſyſtems, to elude the force of ſuch objections, I thought it my duty, to examine ſeriouſly and impartially, what ſolution of them the ſubject itſelf, when fairly ſtated, would ſupply; and to embrace that opinion, which the evidence of allowed facts would naturally ſuggeſt to me. The ſumm of this inquiry, as it was originally drawn up by me, will probably be the ſubject of ſome future treatiſe, which I ſhall reſerve however, together with the examination of the reſt of his Lordſhip's Diſcourſes and learned Diſſertations, to ſome occaſion hereafter of more leiſure.

SOME

SOME CURSORY

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE

APPENDIX,

OR,

ADDITIONAL DISSERTATION.

AFTER I had drawn up the foregoing Examination, and was preparing it for the Preſs, the Biſhop thought proper to publiſh an *Appendix*, or *Additional Diſſertation*, as he calls it, containing *a farther inquiry into the Moſaic account of the Fall.* This is the fifth piece of the ſame kind, with which he has ſucceſſively enlarged and enriched theſe favorite Diſcourſes; *bringing forth to us, out of his treaſure*, like *the good houſholder* in the Goſpel, *things new and old.* To this *Appendix* he has prefixed a ſhort Advertiſement, in which he acquaints us, " that it was drawn up ſome years ago, and " intended, as an Examination of the objec- " tions of a particular Author, who is ſince

" dead; for which reaſon, he has now con-
" ſidered the objections, not as His, but as
" common to all, who call in quæſtion, or are
" offended with the Hiſtory of the Fall, as it
" ſtands recorded by *Moſes*."

Thus he artfully engages *Moſes* in a quarrel, which is purely his own; and prepoſſeſſes people with a notion, that he is defending his character and authority againſt adverſaries, who are laboring to depreſs them; whereas the objections generally propoſed on this ſubject, and theſe eſpecially, now offered by myſelf, are not levelled againſt the writings or teſtimony of *Moſes*, but againſt the abſurd conceits and interpretations, which ſuperſtition, falſe zeal, or the arts of political Churchmen have in all ages been ingrafting upon them, and impoſing upon all Chriſtians as the fundamental principles of their religion.

I have already declared my opinion very freely on the *Moſaic account of the Fall*, and obſerved, that, by conſidering it as a moral Fable, we get rid of every difficulty, render it clear and conſiſtent, as well as adequate to every uſe, which Chriſtianity can require from it: and, on the contrary, that the hiſtorical ſenſe cannot be defended, but by a ſeries of ſuppoſitions, wholly arbitrary and percarious, void of all ſupport from the text, and evidently condemned by our reaſon.

This,

This, I ſay, I have clearly ſhewn in the courſe of the preceding examination, and there cannot be a ſtronger confirmation of it, than what his Lordſhip has given us in this very Appendix, by letting us ſee, that a perſon of his great parts and learning, after twenty-five years ſpent, in conſidering, reviſing, and explaining his hiſtorical ſcheme, has nothing after all to produce, as his laſt thoughts upon it, but a perplexed, hypothetical, inconſiſtent piece of ſophiſtry; which will be intelligible onely to a few, incapable of convincing any, and ſure to diſguſt any rational inquirer. The truth of which I ſhall exemplify, by a ſpecimen or two of his manner of treating ſome of the capital points, which he profeſſes to explane and confirm in this additional performance.

His Lordſhip begins by obſerving, that the main difficulty of the quæſtion conſiſts in determining, *what we are to underſtand by the Serpent, who is repreſented by Moſes, as the Temptor of Eve.* Yet before he has advanced one page farther, he concludes, *that a real and natural Serpent had part in this tranſaction*, for theſe two reaſons; firſt, becauſe he is ſaid *to be more ſubtil than any beaſt of the field, which implies him to have been of the ſame claſs with thoſe beaſts*; 2dly, becauſe *the curſe denounced againſt him, is adapted to the condition of a natural Serpent, and of no other being* [*a*].

[*a*] Append. p. 1, 2.

Thus far he adheres to the letter of the text; which, as all will allow, ſuggeſts to us no other notion, than that of a real Serpent. But though the ſame text aſcribes the uſe of reaſon and ſpeech to the Serpent, as faculties belonging to his nature, and though *Moſes*, as the Biſhop affirms, *relates this fact as an hiſtorian* [*b*], yet in the very next ſtept, he utterly deſerts the text, and in flat contradiction to his Hiſtorian, declares it *impoſſible, that a natural Serpent could reaſon and talk in that manner which Moſes has related* [*c*].

But ſince the curſe pronounced againſt the Serpent is grounded on the reality of the dialogue, which he is ſaid to have held with *Eve*, and is adapted, as he ſays, to the condition *of a natural Serpent, and of no other being*: This reflection alone might have been ſufficient, one would think, to have ſtaggered his Lordſhip, and checked his zeal for an hypotheſis, which aſſigns the whole puniſhment to one being, yet charges the whole crime to another. But notwithſtanding this manifeſt abſurdity, he proceeds to confirm it, by many grave and weighty arguments, which he introduces thus;

"This Serpent, ſays he, talks and reaſons, "not upon ſuch trivial things, of which we

[*b*] P. 3. [*c*] P. 3, 11.

"may

" may ſuppoſe the beaſts of the field (if they " have any reaſon) to have ſome notion: but " he reaſons upon the nature of God and of " man; upon the knowledge of good and " evil; upon the nature and tendency of the " law given to man. He looks back and re- " flects upon the policy, in which that law " was founded, and the art of the Governor, " in keeping his ſubjects in ignorance and blind " obedience, He looks forward and foretells " the happy conſequences of throwing off this " yoke, and perſuades the woman, that ſhe " and her huſband ſhould be as Gods, if they " could have the courage to break through " the reſtraint of this iniquitous law."—After which pompous diſplay of the great and important ſubjects, which are treated of in this dialogue, he comes upon us again with his old inſulting quæſtions.

" What think you now? are theſe the pro- " perties of a mere brute creature? Or is " there any inſtance of an author, who ever " ſeriouſly introduced the beaſts of the field, " thus reaſoning and thus diſcourſing [*d*]?"

To the firſt of theſe quæſtions, every one will readily anſwer, that ſpeech and reaſon, are not the properties of a brute creature. Yet this very anſwer, which his Lordſhip expects from us, and in which he ſeems to triumph, inſtead

[*d*] P. 3.

of

of confirming his hypotheſis, will ever be fatal to it with all men of ſenſe, and convince them at once, that the ſtory of *a talking Serpent*, can be nothing elſe but a fable. Nor will the anſwer to the ſecond quæſtion be of any more ſervice to him; ſince it is certain, that there never was a writer of fables, either ancient or modern, who introduced the beaſts of the field, as the ſpeakers, but he introduced them in the ſame manner, and made them ſpeak indifferently on all ſubjects, ſerious or jocoſe, high or low, trivial or important, which he himſelf was acquainted with, or had occaſion to inculcate.

But it is curious to obſerve, that while *Moſes, relating this fact as an Hiſtorian*, aſſigns *the natural ſubtility of the Serpent*, as the ſole ground and reaſon of his ſucceſs in tempting *Eve*; the Biſhop, on the contrary, alledges that very ſubtility, with which ſhe was tempted, as a proof that the Serpent could not be the temptor. And thus he goes on, ſometimes ſticking cloſe to the text, and ſometimes contradicting it, till he brings us to what he calls *it's true import and meaning*, which he ſumms up in two or three ſhort concluſions; firſt *that the Temptor muſt be a rational Being, becauſe he reaſons with Eve*; ſecondly *a wicked Being, becauſe he acts in oppoſition to the Creator*. And from theſe two he draws the capitol concluſion of his elaborate work; *that a natural Serpent, managed by the art of the Devil, was the viſible agent or inſtrument in beguiling Eve* [*e*].

[*e*] P. 9.

In

In the deduction of this argument, he has given us the pattern of a proper fable, from another part of Scripture, in which *the trees are feigned to have held a general aſſembly for the choice of a King* [*f*]: for what purpoſe he introduced it, is difficult to ſay; unleſs it was to ſhew the difference between the fabulous ſtile, in which this ſtory of the trees, and the hiſtorical, in which the ſtory of the Fall is related. Yet upon comparing the two ſtories, we ſhall find that the ſame characters, by which his Lordſhip attempts to mark out the difference between them, are commmon to them both; and that there is nothing in the ſtile or matter of the one, but what will prove it equally fabulous, or equally hiſtorical with the other. For inſtance, the Serpent and the trees were both of them equally deſtitute of ſpeech, yet are both of them affirmed to have diſcourſed and debated. But the Serpent, it ſeems, talked and reaſoned on ſublime points of theology, morality, and civil policy; looked back into the cauſes, and forward into the conſequences of things: and ſo did the Trees; they reaſoned on matters of the higheſt importance to human ſociety; on the chief good of life; the ſweetneſs of a private condition, preferable to the ſplendor of adminiſtering public affairs; and on the miſeries of living

[*f*] P. 5.

under

under the tyranny of an unworthy and ill-choſen Prince [*g*].

But *Serpents*, he tells us, *under the ſame management of the Devil, had often been known to talk on other occaſions, as well at the Fall, and to give out oracles to the Heathens, in ſeveral different nations.* And ſo the Trees again were known as certainly, to ſpeak and give out oracles to the ancients, as the Serpents: witneſs *the Oak of Dodona*, ſo celebrated for it's oracle, by all the writers of antiquity; with ſeveral other *ſpeaking Oaks*, to which religious honours, vows, and offerings have been paid on the ſame account, both in Pagan and Chriſtian countries [*b*]. Wherefore, as in the ſtory of ſpeaking Trees, the incredibility of the thing obliges us to take it for a Fable, ſo the ſame incredibility muſt ſurely have the ſame effect, in the ſtories of ſpeaking Serpents.

The Biſhop however goes on to confirm his opinion, by ſhewing, "that wicked ſpirits and wicked men are ſometimes called "in Scripture, *Serpents*, *Scorpions*, *Adders*, "*and the Temptor himſelf*, *the Great Dragon and old Serpent*; and he affirms it to be "well known, as an undoubted fact, that ſince "this firſt deceit upon *Eve*, the Devil has "played the ſame trick over again a thouſand

[*g*] *Judges* ix. 8. [*b*] See my Letter from *Rome*, p. 132.

"times

" times under the form of a Serpent, in *the* " *eaſtern country, and Egypt, Greece* and *Rome:* " and that, in *America* alſo, the image of a " Great Dragon, as *Garcilaſco del Vigo* relates, " was found in one of their Temples, as the " Deity of the country, and the object of their " religious worſhip [*i*]." And this ſort of proof, grounded on a variety of fancifull conjectures, forced conſtructions, and incredible facts, is the ſumm, of what he has been able to collect, for the ſupport of his fundamental point, *that the Devil was the Temptor of Eve.*

I ſhall now add a ſhort ſketch of his manner of repelling the objections, which reaſon is apt to ſuggeſt, in contradiction to his hypotheſis. Some writers have imagined the ſtory of the Fall to be of the fabulous kind, becauſe the curſe denounced againſt the Serpent, *of creeping upon his belly, licking the duſt, and being hoſtile and odious to man,* would otherwiſe ſeem impertinent, ſince it inflicted nothing but what flowed from the original nature and formation of the animal. This his Lordſhip treats with much contempt, and ſays; " How do you know this? " who could inform you of it? If you argue " from a fact, of which you have neither " knowledge, nor information, what ſupport " have you? Will you ſay, that God cannot " alter the ſtate or condition of any Being, in " any reſpect from what it was originally?—

[*i*] P. 25, 26, &c.

" And

"And if we conſider rightly, nature is no-
"thing but the law and appointment of God,
"who is maſter of his own laws, and can
"change them whenever he pleaſes, and nature
"will follow and obey his commands [*k*]."

He ſuppoſes the nature both of the Serpent and of the woman to have been changed by the Fall, from what it was before: but how that change was effected, *I neither know*, ſays he, *nor ſhall inquire* [*l*]: in which indeed he is in the right, for to *inquire* into it, would be troubleſome and fruitleſs; whereas *to ſuppoſe* it is eaſy and applicable to his purpoſe on all occaſions. And to ſay the truth, in the preſent ſuppoſition, he does but follow the example of ſeveral other Biſhops and Commentators, who, to evade the ſame difficulty, have recurred to the ſame expedient, of ſuppoſing *the Serpent to have been originally of an erect and beautiful ſhape, which appeared ſo glorious to Eve, that ſhe took him to be an Angel, or Miniſter of heaven* [*m*]: from which upright and amiable form he was doomed for his offence to creep upon his belly.

[*k*] P. 19, 20. [*l*] P. 20.

[*m*] The woman, ſays Dr. *Lightfoot*, thinking it had been a good Angel, entreth into communication with the Devil. Obſervation on Geneſ. c. iii. Vol. I. p. 692.

Nor doth it ſeem at all credible to me, that ſhe could have been otherwiſe deceived, but by ſome creature, which appeared ſo glorioufly, that ſhe took it for an heavenly miniſter. See Biſhop Patrick, Comment. on Gen. iii. 1.

I ſhall not trouble myſelf, to expoſe the vanity of this hypothetical way of reaſoning, which, if allowed to have any force, would confound all reaſoning whatſoever: my view, in the recital of it, is to ſhew onely, how inconſiſtent His Lordſhip is with himſelf, in the application of it: the common fate of all, who undertake the defence of the ſyſtems, in oppoſition to nature and reaſon. For inſtance; when it was his buſineſs to prove, *that the Devil was the real Tempter of Eve*, he declares it impoſſible and contrary to nature, that a mere Serpent ſhould talk and reaſon: yet when the nature of the ſame Serpent is alledged in contradiction to his ſcheme, then nature is nothing with him but an empty name, from which no certain inference can be drawn; as being not onely variable, but often actually varied at the pleaſure of it's author: which very reaſoning, as it is applied by him to refute an objection, invalidates every thing, which he had been urging for the confirmation of his main argument.

For let us aſk him in his own words; how can you know that the Serpent could not ſpeak? who could inform you of it? If you argue from nature, nature is nothing but the appointment of God, who may change it at pleaſure, and has often done ſo in many caſes. It is as eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the Serpent might talk before the Fall, as that he might walk erect before the Fall;

Fall; ſince the ſame reaſoning has certainly the ſame force in the one caſe, as in the other. And in truth, if any alteration was really made at that time in it's nature, it is more reaſonable to believe, that it was made by depriving it of ſpeech, than by any change of it's external form; becauſe the text expreſsly aſcribes to it the uſe of ſpeech, yet gives not the leaſt hint of it's having any different form or bodily ſhape, than what it now enjoys.

But though his Lordſhip, when it ſerved his turn, declared it impoſſible, for ſerpents to ſpeak, yet it ſeems to be his private opinion, that they were indued originally with that faculty, but loſt it again at the Fall. This we may collect from the example produced by him to ſhew, how ſuch a change might be made in the nature of men or other animals, yet no body be able to tell in what manner it was wrought. "When Zacharias, ſays he, *Father of John the* "*Baptiſt*, was ſtricken dumb inſtantaneouſly, can "you tell what change was made in his Organs "of ſpeech, or how this alteration was affected? "But ſuppoſe, that the ſame change had been "made univerſally, would not the world have "been ſpeechleſs? And can you doubt, whe-"ther the ſame power could do this in every "man's caſe, which was done in the caſe of "*Zacharias?* and would not this have been a "curſe upon man, as fatal and extenſive as the "*curſe of the Fall was to the woman, or to the*

"*ſerpent*

" *ſerpent*, and as contrary to what we call the " courſe of Nature, and as hard to be ac- " counted for [*n*] ?

Now if nothing more be meant by this ſeries of quæſtions, than what the obvious ſenſe of them ſeems to import; that *God, who ſtruck one man dumb, might have ſtruck all men dumb, if he had pleaſed, at the ſame time; and if he had done ſo, that all the world would then have been ſpeechleſs*; it is wholly trifling and of no ſervice to his avowed argument: wherefore his view probably in theſe quæſtions was, to ſuggeſt a tacit inference, which can hardly eſcape an attentive reader, that as *Zacharias* was ſtruck dumb, ſo likewiſe was the *Serpent*; but with this difference; that the puniſhment of *Zacharias* was reſtrained to one individual, whereas that of the Serpent was made univerſal; and the curſe, though pronounced ſingly upon one animal, was extended, as in the caſe alſo of *Eve*, to the whole ſpecies; which from that moment became ſpeechleſs.

He makes an attempt on his way, to confirm his expoſition of this ſtory, by the authority of our Lord: and if he could do this, to the ſatisfaction of men of ſenſe, it would ſilence at once the ſcruples of all Chriſtian inquirers. But his way of proving it is no other, than what we

[*n*] Page 20.

have already ſeen on many occaſions; not by any direct or explicit teſtimonies of ſcripture, but by ſubtil refinements, or forced intetpretations of the texts referred to. — For inſtance; "it appears plainly, ſays he, that our Saviour "underſtood the Devil to be the Temptor, "from the parable of the tares and his expo-"ſition of it [*o*]." Now a declaration ſo peremptory would lead us to conclude, that ſome reference or alluſion was certainly made by this Parable to the temptation of *Eve* and the manner in which it was effected: yet any other perſon, who had not the ſame hypotheſis in his head, might read it over a thouſand times, without ever thinking once of the ſtory of the Fall, or diſcovering the leaſt connection or relation whatſoever between them.

The parable of the tares, as well as every other parable recited in the ſame chapter, is interpreted by our Lord himſelf, to denote the fate and ſucceſs of the promulgation of his Goſpel, which is commonly called by him, *the kingdom of heaven, or the word of the kingdom:* thoſe, who hear and receive this word, are *the good ſeed, or the children of the kingdom*; thoſe, who contemn and reject it, are the tares, or *the children of the wicked one*; by whom they are incited and encouraged to oppoſe the progreſs of the Goſpel [*p*]. Now what relation has this

[*o*] Page 21. [*p*] Matth. xiii. 24, 25.

to

to the ſtory of the Fall, or how does it teach us that the Devil, in the form of a Serpent, was the Temptor of *Eve?* Why not at all. Yet by an art peculiar to himſelf, we ſhall ſee him preſently drawing out of the text, what no body elſe had ever dreamt of, or thought poſſible to be found there: in order to which, he amuſes us by the followiug harangue upon it.

" Our Saviour, ſays he, explanes this para-
" ble, and applies it to God's government of
" the world—the field is the world, the good
" ſeed are the children of the kingdom, the
" Tares are the children of the wicked one.—
" Here then our Saviour had the great point
" before him; How came evil into the world?
" All the anſwer he gives to it is, the enemy
" that ſowed the tares, is the Devil. Could
" our Lord be ignorant of the hiſtory of the
" Fall, and of the firſt introduction of evil in-
" to the world? Or could he forget it, when
" he was accounting for the work of Provi-
" dence, with reſpect to the beginning of evil,
" that every where abounded? He does not in-
" deed enter into the curious quæſtions, relat-
" ing to the origin of evil, but he tells us, who
" firſt brought it in, the Devil. The Devil
" therefore was that very Serpent, who tempt-
" ed *Eve*; that enemy who ſowed theſe tares,
" which have overſpread the world [*q*]."

[*q*] Page 22.

Here we ſee how many great and important doctrines have lain dormant in this Parable, for ſeventeen hundred years paſt, and would have lain ſo probably for ever, if his Lordſhip's penetration had not diſcovered them; who has now at laſt ſhewn; *that the origin of evil*, of all quæſtions, as he ſays, *the moſt abſtruſe, and the fartheſt removed from our reach*, is expreſsly taught and explaned by it: that the firſt prophecy alſo in the world, delivered to our firſt Parents, in the curſe upon the Serpent, is clearly made out and exemplified by it; and Chriſtianity, in ſhort, proved to be *as old as the creation.*

But how much ſoever he may plume himſelf upon this diſcovery, it is certain that nothing was ever more ſtrained, confuſed and foreign to the real ſenſe of the Parable, than the expoſition, which he has given to it. He firſt ſuppoſes our Lord to be here diſcuſſing the great point *of the introduction of evil* into the world; and having laid down this ſuppoſition, without any authority from the text, he treats it immediately as an allowed fact, and converts it into an argument: for our Lord, ſays he, *could not be ignorant of the ſtory of the fall, when he was accounting for the beginning of evil:* from which premiſes he draws this extraordinary concluſion; *the Devil therefore was that very Serpent, who tempted Eve.*

Our

Our Lord tells us, as the Biſhop affirms, *that the Devil was the firſt bringer in of Evil:* if ſo, he not only enters into the quæſtion, but goes to the bottom of it at once: Yet we are at a loſs all the while, to know, where it is, that our Lord tells us ſo: for it is certain, that in this Parable, he ſays not a ſyllable about it. The whole, which he here intimates, is, that there is a wicked inviſible ſpirit ſubſiſting in the world, who, by the agency of his children, or corrupt ſeed, makes it his buſineſs, to obſtruct the progreſs of the Goſpel, and the happineſs propoſed by it to mankind: but how that *wicked one* was himſelf introduced, and how he became indued with a nature and power utterly oppoſite and hoſtile to the divine nature, is a myſtery, not yet revealed to us, either by the Old, or the New Teſtament.

From the ſame premiſes, His Lordſhip draws another concluſion of the ſame kind, and ſays; "our Lord in this Parable, had undoubtedly "alſo in his view, that part of the Prophecy, "delivered by God at the Fall, in theſe words, "*I will put enmity between thee and the woman,* "*and between thy ſeed and her ſeed; it ſhall bruiſe* "*thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* For "as our Lord has expreſsly told us, that the "enemy, who brought evil into the world, "was the Devil, he has as clearly, if attended "to, told us, that the reſtorer of righteouſneſs

" was that very ſeed, promiſed to the woman, " who was to bruiſe the Serpent's head [*r*]."

As to the caſe of the prophecy here referred to, ſuppoſed to be myſtically couched in the curſe upon the Serpent, enough has already been ſaid in the Biſhop's Diſcourſes, and the Examination of them: and what His Lordſhip has here added, in this Appendix, is but a remnant, as it were, of the ſame flimſy ſtuff; a a fine-ſpun webb of fantaſtical whims, and precarious ſuppoſitions, worked up together into ſome reſemblance of arguments, whence many ſurprizing and recondite inferences are occaſionally deduced by him; all which I ſhall leave for the preſent to the contemplation of the reader; who will hardly want a monitor, to point out the ridicule of them; nor will I make any reflection on a ſecond Prophecy, which he has ſince diſcovered and explaned here at large with his uſual acuteneſs; the bare recital of it, with a ſhort ſketch of his reaſoning upon it, will be ſufficient for my purpoſe.

The prophecy is this; *Dan ſhall be a Serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the Horſe's heels, ſo that the rider ſhall fall backwards. I have waited for thy ſalvation, O Lord!* This ſecond prophecy *is ſo like*, he ſays, *to the firſt, in language and idea, that comparing the two together, may reflect light upon each.* And in order to ſtrike out this light, he tells us, " that the

[*r*] Page 23.

" houſe of *Dan* were the Temptors and ring-
" leaders in idolatry to all the other tribes of
" *Iſrael:* wherefore ſuppoſing this to be the
" view before the prophet's eyes, he then
" ſhews, that, as the firſt Temptor deſerved
" the name of a Serpent for drawing *Adam* and
" *Eve* from their obedience to the original law,
" ſo this ſecond Temptor and ſeducer, *Dan*,
" deſerved no leſs to be called a Serpent and
" biter of heels, for drawing the people of *Iſrael*
" from their obedience to the divine law: for
" if the miſchiefs brought upon the race of
" *Adam*, were juſtly repreſented by the Ser-
" pent's *bruiſing the heel of the woman's ſeed*, did
" not the miſchiefs brought upon the houſe of
" *Iſrael* by the idolatry of *Dan*, deſerve to be
" painted in colours of the ſame kind [*s*]?"
Then as to the hope of ſalvation intimated in this prophecy, " it manifeſtly relates, he ſays,
" to the miſchief wrought by a Serpent biting
" the heels," ſo that by being conſidered in this light, it affords a very ancient evidence of the expectation of a deliverance from the curſe of the Fall. And ſo the ſimilitude and relation between the two prophecies being thus demonſtrated, " and all theſe circumſtances laid to-
" gether, he declares it impoſſible, to imagine
" any ſalvation, that can anſwer to theſe ideas,
" but that onely, which aroſe from the pro-
" miſe, that the *ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe*
" *the Serpent's head* [*t*]."

[*s*] Page 42, &c. [*t*] Page 47.

There are many other notable diſcoveries, and obſervations, ſcattered through this Appendix, which I have omitted to take notice of, for fear of being tedious; but leſt the reader ſhould think himſelf too great a ſufferer by my indolence, I will entertain him here with one or two, as a ſpecimen of the reſt.

His Lordſhip obſerves; "that it is the prerogative of the man, *to be the head of the woman*; but this ſuperiority is not conveyed to him by expreſs grant or conceſſion, but the ſubjection is laid on the woman as a penalty, in the ſentence pronounced upon her by God. And it is from this penalty that man's ſuperiority, is left to be collected by us [*u*]." So that unleſs we admit his hypotheſis, and take the account of the Fall for a real hiſtory, this prerogative of man muſt be deemed a mere tyranny and uſurpation, as having no other plea or title, but from that puniſhment inflicted on *Eve*, by which ſhe was made ſubject *to the rule of her huſband*. Yet His Lordſhip might have ſeen, that the ſame hiſtory, whether taken literally or allegorically, had given a clear ſuperiority to man, even previous to the Fall, by the priority of his creation, and the formation of the woman *out of his rib*; on which *St. Paul* particularly grounds it, where

[*u*] Page 41, 42.

he

he ſays, *that the head of the woman is man; for the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man: neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man* [w].

But man has ſtill a ſurer title to this prerogative, than either *Moſes*, or the Apoſtles could give him, derived from his very nature, and confirmed by the experience of all mankind: I mean that ſuperiority of force, and bodily ſtrength, which diſtinguiſhes the male, from the female ſex, and neceſſarily conveyes a ſuperiority of power to the ſtronger over the weaker. And thus this groundleſs conceit, inſtead of confirming the Biſhop's expoſition, tends rather to confute it, and ſhews, from this very circumſtance, that the account of the Fall could not be an hiſtorical deſcription of a real fact, but the mere effect of fancy, attempting, by way of fable or allegory, to repreſent the unhappy ſtate to which the man and the woman had reduced themſelves by a wilful defection from the original purity and innocence of their nature.

There is another obſervation ſtill remaining, on the ſubject of that firſt Prophecy, ſaid to be contained in the ſentence upon the Serpent, with which His Lordſhip concludes his Appendix, and I alſo ſhall put an end to my preſent Ani-

[w] 1 Cor. xi. 3, 8, 9.

madverſions.

madverſions. He obſerves, "that the lan-
"guage of that prophecy, repreſenting the
"victory of the woman's ſeed, *by bruiſing the*
"*Serpent's head*, and the known uſe and appli-
"cation of it in Scripture to the promiſed ſeed,
"will help us to account for one of the arts,
"made uſe of by the Temptor when he made
"his trial upon our Saviour:" which he il-
luſtrates in the following manner.

"The Temptor, ſays he, planely wanted to
"know, whether *Jeſus was the Son of God*,
"that perſon expected to come, and with
"whom he well knew, what concern he had.
"In order to know this, he tries whether our
"Lord would own his character, by aſſuming
"the power belonging to it—*if thou be the Son*
"*of God, caſt thyſelf down, for it is written, He*
"*ſhall give his Angels charge concerning thee,*
"*and in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt*
"*at any time thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.*
"Theſe words are taken from the xciſt Pſalm,
"ver. 11, 12: and conſidered in themſelves
"contain, in figurative language, a promiſe
"of God's providence and care over that per-
"ſon to whom they are addreſſed; and might
"be applied with great propriety to *David*
"himſelf, or to any other good perſon, eſpe-
"cially regarded by God. How came the
"Temptor then, to conſider theſe words, as
"belonging only to him, who was to *be the*
"*Son of God?* From the words themſelves he

"could

" could not collect this; but there was another " character in the very next verſe, and belonging " to the ſame perſon, which he could not " miſtake; for this perſon, over whom the " Angels were to have charge, *was to tread* " *upon the Lion and Adder, and the young Lion* " *and the Dragon to trample under his feet.* He " knew by this mark, to whom this whole " prophecy belonged; he could not forget, " who was to bruiſe his head, and though he " avoided to aſk our Lord directly, whether " he was that perſon, who was to bruiſe his " head, yet he did the ſame thing covertly, " by trying whether another part of the ſame " prophecy would be owned by him, as be- " longing to himſelf [*x*]."

Here again we are amuſed with a fine ſtory, in which his Lordſhip, by a wonderful penetration, lays open to our view the craft and hidden wiles of Satan, by which he hoped to intrap our Lord, and draw the ſecret of his Meſſiahſhip out of him: where, though he treats the temptation of Chriſt, in the ſame manner with the temptation of *Eve*, as a fact hiſtorically related; yet the Learned have ever been puzzled how to interpret it, and there were ſome, as *Grotius* intimates [*y*], *both of the*

[*x*] Page 51.

[*y*] Quæ omnia eo libentius noto, ne quis cum veteribus quibuſdam, noviſque exiſtimet, quæ hic narrantur, Chriſto non vere, ſed κατὰ φαντασίαν accidiſſe. Grot. in Matt. iv. 1.

ancient

ancients and moderns, who took the whole to have been repreſented onely to the fancy of Chriſt, as in a dream, or viſion. Be that however as it will, I have no deſign to diſpute it's reality, but ſhall only aſk his Lordſhip, how he can think it probable, that the Devil, who appears, from this very ſtory, to have been perfectly acquainted with the writings of the Old Teſtament, could be ignorant of the character of *Jeſus*, whoſe perſon was marked out ſo evidently, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, *by Moſes and all the Prophets*, that many of the Jews were able to diſcover and acknowledge him, as ſoon almoſt as he appeared? *Dr. Lightfoot*, in his comment on this ſame ſtory, ſays, *ſince the Devil was always a moſt impudent Spirit, he now takes upon him a more hardened boldneſs than ever; even of waging war with him, whom he knows to be the Son of God* [z].

But how probable ſoever his Lordſhip may take his conceit of *Satan's ignorance* to be, it happens very unluckily for him, that it is utterly confuted by the repeated teſtimonies of the Evangeliſts, who, in ſeveral different places, expreſly affirm, that the Devils, whom *Jeſus* every where caſt out, uſed to profeſs, and proclaim aloud their knowledge of him, *as the Meſſiah or Son of God*, ſent on purpoſe to deſtroy them and their works. Their conſtant

[z] Vol. II. p. 129. in Matt. iv. 1.

cry

cry was; *What have we to do with thee, thou Jeſus of Nazareth? art thou come to deſtroy us? we know thee, who thou art: the Son of God moſt high, or the Holy one of God* [*a*]. So that *Jeſus*, as we are likewiſe told, would *not ſuffer them to ſpeak* on ſome occaſions, becauſe *they knew him to be the Chriſt* [*b*]. How is it credible then, that, when every inferior Devil; and even the whole *Legion* of them, whom *Jeſus* caſt out at once, ſhould all know his true character, yet Satan himſelf, the Prince and Leader of them all, ſhould alone be ignorant of it and unable to diſcover him; eſpecially, when *Jeſus* had been openly declared to be *the Son of God* by *a miraculous voice* from heaven, immediately before the time of this very temptation [*c*]?

In the laſt paragraph of this Appendix, to which we are now arrived, his Lordſhip puts us in mind, how the firſt and noxious part of of this prophecy at the Fall, is ſo evidently fulfilled by the dominion of ſin and death, through all ages of the world, *as to want no other proof of it's completion.* The heel *of the ſeed of the woman*, ſays he, *has been, and will continue to be ſufficiently bruiſed, till death, the laſt enemy, ſhall be deſtroyed.* But the ſecond and healing part of the ſame prophecy, which implies a promiſe of victory *by bruiſing the Serpent's head*, is not to be accompliſhed till the day of judgment.

[*a*] Mark i. 24. [*b*] Luke iv. 41.
[*c*] Mark i. 11.

Then,

Then, ſays he, *ſhall the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, be faſt bound, and caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone. Then ſhall the loſs of the Fall be repaired, Paradiſe be reſtored, and the Tree of life ſhall yield it's fruit again, and the leaves thereof be for a ſhelter and healing to the nations.*

And thus the benefit of this ſuppoſed prophecy ſeems to evaporate at laſt into air. It was given, as we have conſtantly been told by him, to adminiſter comfort to man, under all the evils and diſtreſſes, in which his enemy, the Devil, had involved him. Strange comfort, to an inhabitant of this world, which could not be felt or underſtood, till the world itſelf ſhould be no more! And a ſtrange ſort of victory, which left the Devil ſtill inſulting, as the Biſhop expreſſes it, *in all the forms of violence, fraud, iniquity, diſtempers without number, and miſeries too many, too affecting to be deſcribed.* A victory which was not to take place, till the enemy had ſcattered every plague, and wrought every evil upon this earth, which his malice could contrive or his power effect.

It is remarkable alſo, that after all his Lordſhip's pains to aſſert the hiſtorical character of the Moſaic account of the Fall, he is carried at laſt inadvertently and by the very nature of his ſubject to turn it, as it were, into an allegory; telling us here in the concluſion, that the Paradiſe,

diſe, which man had forfeited on earth, would be repaired and reſtored *to him in heaven*; and *the Tree of life*, which he was not ſuffered to taſt in this world, would *yield it's fruit again in the next, and ſpread it's leaves for a ſhelter and healing to all nations.*

But ſince he has referred us after all, for the completion of this prophecy, to the day of judgement; I ſhall willingly adjourn all farther diſputes about it to the ſame day. It is that day alone, which can determine the real character, not onely of this, but of all other pretended prophecies, inſpirations, and revelations of the will of God; which now chiefly occupy the attention, and conſtitute the religion of all the nations upon earth. And happy would it be for them all, if dropping thoſe vain conteſts and wranglings about quæſtions, wholly ſpeculative, fruitleſs and inexplicable; and remitting the deciſion of them to that laſt and awful day, men would apply their pains and zeal, to promote and inculcate thoſe practical, ſocial and real duties, which our reaſon and ſenſes preſcribe in common to all, as the chief good of our nature; the foundation of all religion; the ſource of all our happineſs in this life, and of all our hopes in that which is to come.

A DIS-

A

DISSERTATION

Concerning the

ORIGIN

OF

Printing in England.

SHEWING,

That it was firſt Introduced and Practiſed by our COUNTRYMAN

WILLIAM CAXTON, at *Weſtminſter*:

And not, as is commonly believed, by a Foreign Printer at *Oxford*:

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.

VIRG.

A

DISSERTATION

Concerning the

ORIGIN

OF

Printing in England.

IT was a conſtant Opinion delivered down by our Hiſtorians, That the *Art of Printing was introduced and firſt practiſed in* England *by* WILLIAM CAXTON, a *Mercer and Citizen of* London; who by his Travels abroad, and a Reſidence of many years in *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, in the affairs of Trade, had an opportunity of informing himſelf of the whole Method and Proceſs of the Art; and by the Encouragement of the Great, and particularly of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, firſt ſet up a Preſs in that Abby, and began to print Books ſoon after the year MCCCCLXXI.

This was the Tradition of our Writers; till a book, which had ſcarce been obſerved before the Reſtoration, was then taken notice of by the Curious, with a Date of it's Impreſſion from *Oxford*, *anno* MCCCCLXVIII, and was conſidered immediately as a clear proof and monument of the exercife of Printing in that Univerſity, ſeveral years before CAXTON began to deal in it.

The Book, which is in our public Library, is a ſmall Volume of forty-one Leaves in Quarto, with this title: *Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium:* and at the end, *Explicit expoſicio*, &c. *Impreſſa Oxonie, & finita Anno Domini* M.CCCC.LXVIII. XVII *die Decembris.*

The appearance of this Book has robbed CAXTON of a Glory that he had long poſſeſſed, of being the Author of Printing to this Kingdom, and *Oxford* ever ſince carried the Honour of the firſt Preſs. The only difficulty was, to account for the ſilence of Hiſtory in an Event ſo memorable, and the want of any Memorial in the Univerſity itſelf, concerning the Eſtabliſhment of a new Art amongſt them, of ſuch uſe and benefit to Learning. But this likewiſe has been cleared up, by the diſcovery of a Record, which had lain obſcure and unknown at *Lambeth-Houſe*, in the Regiſter of the See of *Canterbury*, and gives a Narrative of the whole tranſaction, drawn up at the very time.

An

An account of this Record was firſt publiſhed in a thin Quarto Volume, in *Engliſh*; with this Title, *The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of Hiſtory and the Records of this Kingdom: wherein is alſo demonſtrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of* England. By *Richard Atkyns*, Eſq; *London* 1664.

It ſets forth in ſhort, That as ſoon as *the Art of Printing made ſome noiſe in* Europe, Thomas Bourchier, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *moved King* Henry VI. *to uſe all poſſible means to procure it to be brought into* England: *The King approving the Propoſal, diſpatched one Mr.* Robert Turnour, *an Officer of the Robes, into* Flanders, *furniſhed with money for the purpoſe; who took to his Aſſiſtance* WILLIAM CAXTON, *a Man of Abilities, and knowledge of the Country; and theſe two found means to bribe and entice over into* England *one* Frederick Corſellis, *an Under-workman in the Printing-Houſe at* Harlem, *where* John Guttemberg *had lately invented the Art, and was then perſonally at work: which* Corſellis *was immediately ſent down to* Oxford *under a Guard, to prevent his eſcape, and to oblige him to the performance of his Contract*; where he produced the Piece above-mentioned, but without any name of Printer. Thoſe who have not the opportunity of conſulting *Atkins's* Book, which is not common, may find the ſtory more at large in Mr.

Maittaire's Annals, or *Palmer's* Hiſtory of Printing, *&c.*

From the Authority of this Record, all our later Writers declare *Corſellis* to be the firſt Printer in *England*; Mr. *Anthony Wood*, the learned Mr. *Maittaire*, *Palmer*, and one *Bagford*, an induſtrious Man, who had publiſhed *Propoſals for an Hiſtory of Printing*, and whoſe manuſcript Papers were communicated to me by my worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Baker*: But it is ſtrange that a Piece ſo fabulous, and carrying ſuch evident marks of Forgery could impoſe upon men ſo knowing and inquiſitive.

For *firſt*; the Fact is laid quite wrong as to Time; near the end of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign, in the very heat of the Civil Wars; when it is not credible that a Prince, ſtruggling for Life as well as his Crown, ſhould have leiſure or diſpoſition to attend to a Project that could hardly be thought of, much leſs executed, in times of ſuch calamity. *The Printer*, it is ſaid, *was graciouſly received by the King, made one of his ſworn Servants and ſent down to* Oxford *with a Guard*, &c. all which muſt have paſſed before the year 1459: for *Edward* IV. was proclaimed in *London*, in the end of it, according to our computation, on the 4th of *March*, and crowned about the *Midſummer* following [*a*];

[*a*] See Caxton's Chronicle.

and

and yet we have no Fruit of all this Labour and Expence till near ten years after, when the little Book, deſcribed above, is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed from that Preſs.

Secondly; The Silence of CAXTON concerning a Fact in which he is ſaid to be a principal Actor, is a ſufficient Confutation of it: For it was a conſtant cuſtom with him, in the Prefaces or Concluſions of his Works, to give an hiſtorical account of all his Labours and Tranſactions, as far as they concerned the publiſhing and printing of Books. And, what is ſtill ſtronger, in *the Continuation of the Polychronicon*, compiled by himſelf, and carried down to the end of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign, he makes no mention of the Expedition in queſt of a Printer; which he could not have omitted, had it been true: whilſt in the ſame Book he takes notice of *the Invention and Beginning of Printing in the City of* Mentz; which I ſhall make ſome uſe of by and by.

There is a further Circumſtance in CAXTON's Hiſtory, that ſeems inconſiſtent with the Record; for we find him ſtill beyond Sea, about twelve years after the ſuppoſed Tranſaction, [*b*] *learning with great charge and trouble the Art of Printing*; which he might have done with eaſe at home, if he had got *Corſellis* into his hands,

[*b*] Recule of the Hiſtories of *Troye*, in the end of the 2d and 3d Books.

as the Record imports, ſo many years before: But he probably learnt it at *Cologn*, where he reſided in 1471, [*c*] and whence Books had been firſt printed with date, the year before.

To the Silence of CAXTON, we may add that of the *Dutch* Writers: for it is very ſtrange, as Mr. *Chevillier* obſerves, if the ſtory of the Record be true, [*d*] *That* Adrian Junius, *who has collected all the groundleſs ones that favour the pretenſions of* Harlem, *ſhould never have heard of it.*

But *thirdly*; the moſt direct and internal Proof of its Forgery, is its aſcribing *the Origin of Printing to* Harlem; *where* John Guttemberg *the Inventor, is ſaid to have been perſonally at work, when* Corſellis *was brought away, and the Art itſelf to have been firſt carried to* Mentz *by a Brother of one of* Guttemberg's *Workmen:* for it is certain beyond all doubt, *that Printing was firſt invented and propagated from* Mentz. CAXTON's Teſtimony ſeems alone to be deciſive; who in *the Continuation of the Polychronicon*, [*e*] ſays, *About this time* (*viz. anno* 1455.) *the crafte of emprynting was firſt found in* Mogunce *in* Almayne, *&c.* He was abroad in the very Country, and at the time, when the firſt Project and Thought of it began, and the rudeſt

[*c*] Recule, *&c.* ibid.

[*d*] L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, c. i. p. 25.

[*e*] Fol. 433.

Eſſays

Eſſays of it were attempted; where he continued for thirty years, *viz.* from 1441 to 1471: and, as he was particularly curious and inquiſitive after this new Art, of which he was endeavouring to get a perfect Information, he could not be ignorant of the Place where it was firſt exerciſed. This confutes what *Palmer* conjectures, to confirm the Credit of the Record [*f*]; That *the Compiler might take up with the common report, that paſſed current at the time in* Holland, *in favour of* Harlem; *or probably receive it from* CAXTON *himſelf*: For it does not appear that there was any ſuch report at the time, nor many years after; and CAXTON, we ſee, was better informed from his own knowledge: and, had *Palmer* been equally curious, he could not have been ignorant of this teſtimony of his in the very caſe.

Beſides the Evidence of CAXTON, we have another contemporary Authority, from *the Black Book, or Regiſter of the Garter*, publiſhed by Mr. *Anſtis* [*g*], where, *in the thirty-fifth year of* Henry VI. *anno* 1457, it is ſaid, *In this year of our moſt Pious King, the Art of Printing Bookes firſt began at* Mentz, *a famous City of* Germany.

Fabian likewiſe, the Writer of the Chronicle, an Author of good credit, who lived at the

[*f*] Hiſt. of Printing. Book iii. p. 318.
[*g*] Hiſt. of Garter, Vol. ii. p. 161.

ſame

ſame time with CAXTON, though ſome years younger, ſays, *This yere* (viz. 35th Henry VI.) *after the opynyon of dyverſe wryters, began in a Citie of* Almaine, *namyd* Mogunce, *the Crafte of empryntynge Bokys, which ſen that tyme hath had wonderful encreace.* Theſe three Teſtimonies have not been produced before, that I know of; two of them were communicated to me by Mr. *Baker*, who of all Men is the moſt able, as well as the moſt willing to give Information in every point of curious and uncommon Hiſtory.

I need not purſue this Quæſtion any farther; the Teſtimonies commonly alledged in it, may be ſeen in Mr. *Maittaire*, *Palmer*, *&c.* I ſhall only obſerve, that we have full and authentic Evidence for the Cauſe of *Mentz*, in *an Edition of Livy* from that place, *anno* 1518, by [*b*] *John Scheffer*, the Son of *Peter*, the Partner and Son-in-law of *John Fauſt*: where the Patent of Privilege granted by the Emperor to the Printer; the Prefatory Epiſtle of *Eraſmus*; the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Prince by *Ulrich Hutten*; the Epiſtle to the Reader of the two Learned Men who had the Care of the Edition;

[*b*] D. Vitalis de Furno olim Cardinalis, Archiatri ut Inſignis, ita & peritiſſim. pro conſervanda Sanitate, &c. Moguntiæ MDXXXI.

Libri medicinalis, ſeu medicamentorum D. Vitalis de Furno, &c. Finis. Moguntiæ apud Ivonem Schoeffer (a cujus proavo Joanne Fauſt, Chalcographice olim in Urbe Moguntiaca primum, nec uſquam alibi inventa, exercitaque eſt) menſe Auguſto, Anno M.D.XXXI.

all

all concur in aſſerting *the Origin of the Art to that City, and the Invention and firſt Exerciſe of it to Fauſt:* And *Eraſmus* particularly, who was a *Dutchman*, would not have decided againſt his own Country, had there been any ground for the Claim of *Harlem*.

But to return to the *Lambeth Record*: As it was never heard of before the Publication of *Atkyns's* Book, ſo it has never ſince been ſeen or produced by any Man; though the Regiſters of *Canterbury* have on many occaſions been diligently and particularly ſearched for it. They were examined without doubt very carefully by *Archbiſhop Parker*, for the compiling *his Antiquities of the Britiſh Church*; where, in the Life of *Thomas Bourchier*, though he congratulates that Age on the *noble and uſeful Invention of Printing*, yet he is ſilent *as to the Introduction of it into* England *by the Endeavours of that Archbiſhop*; nay his giving the Honour of the Invention to *Straſburg*, clearly ſhews, that he knew nothing of the ſtory of *Corſellis* conveyed *from Harlem*, and that the Record was not in being in his time. *Palmer* himſelf owns, *That it is not to be found there now; for that the late Earl of* Pembroke *aſſured him, that he had employed a Perſon for ſome time to ſearch for it, but in vain* [*i*].

[*i*] Hiſt. of *Engliſh* Printing, p. 314.

On

On theſe grounds we may pronounce the Record to be a Forgery; though all the Writers above-mentioned take pains to ſupport its credit, and call it an *Authentic Piece.*

Atkyns, who by his manner of writing ſeems to have been a bold and vain Man, might poſſibly be the Inventor; for he had an Intereſt in impoſing it upon the World, in order to confirm the Argument of his Book, that *Printing was of the Prerogative Royal*; in oppoſition to the Company of Stationers, with whom he was engaged in an expenſive Suit of Law in defence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed ſome excluſive Powers of Printing. For he tells us, [*k*] That *upon conſidering the thing, he could not but think that a Public Perſon, more eminent than a Mercer, and a Public Purſe muſt needs be concerned in ſo Public a Good: and the more he conſidered, the more inquiſitive he was to find out the Truth.* So that he had formed his Hypotheſis before he had found his *Record*, which he publiſhed, he ſays, *as a Friend to Truth*; *not to ſuffer one Man to be intituled to the worthy Atchievements of another*; *and as a Friend to himſelf, not to loſe one of his beſt Arguments of intituling the King to this Art.* But, if *Atkyns* was not himſelf the Contriver, he was impoſed upon at leaſt by ſome more crafty; who imagined that his Intereſt in the Cauſe, and the

[*k*] See page 3.

Warmth

Warmth that he ſhewed in proſecuting it, would induce him to ſwallow for genuin, whatever was offered of the kind.

We have now cleared our hands of the Record; but the Book ſtands firm, as a Monument of the Exerciſe of Printing in *Oxford ſix years older* than any Book of CAXTON with Date. The Fact is ſtrong, and what in ordinary caſes paſſes for certain Evidence of the Age of Books; but in this, there are ſuch contrary Facts to balance it, and ſuch Circumſtances to turn the Scale, that to ſpeak my mind freely, I take the Date in quæſtion to have been falſified originally by the Printer, either by deſign or miſtake, and an x to have been dropt or omitted in the Age of its Impreſſion.

Examples of the kind are common in the Hiſtory of Printing. I have obſerved ſeveral Dates alter'd very artfully after Publication, to give them the credit of greater Antiquity. They have at *Harlem*, in large Quarto, a Tranſlation into *Dutch* of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed *anno* M.CCCC.XXXV, by *Jacob Bellart*: This they ſhew to confirm their Claim to the earlieſt Printing, and deceive the Unſkilful. But Mr. *Bagford*, who had ſeen another Copy with a true [*l*] Date, diſcovered the Cheat; by a which the L had

[*l*] Mr. *Bagford's* Papers,

been

been eraſed ſo cunningly, that it was not eaſy to perceive it. But beſides the Frauds of an After-contrivance, there are many falſe Dates originally given by the Printers; partly through Deſign, to raiſe the Value of their Works, but chiefly through negligence and blunder. There is a Bible at *Auſburg*, of *ann.* 1449, where the two laſt Figures are tranſpoſed, and ſhould ſtand thus, 1494: *Chevillier* mentions three more, [*m*] one at *Paris of ann.* 1443; another at *Lyons*, 1446; a third at *Baſil*, 1450; though Printing was not uſed in any of theſe places till many years after. *Orlandi* deſcribes three Books with the like Miſtake from *Mentz*: And *Jo. Koelhoff*, who firſt printed about the year 1470, at *Cologn*, has dated one of his Books *ann* M.CCCC. with a C omitted; and another, *anno* 1458; which *Palmer* imputes to Deſign rather than Miſtake [*n*].

But what is moſt to our Point, is a Book from the famous Printer, *Nicolas Jenſon*; of which Mr. *Maittaire* gave the firſt notice, called *Decor Puellarum*; printed *anno* M.CCCC.LXI. All the other Works of *Jenſon* were publiſhed from *Venice*, between *ann.* 1470 and 1480; which juſtly raiſed a Suſpicion, that an X had been dropt from the Date of this, which ought to be advanced ten years forward; ſince it was not credible, that ſo great a Maſter of the Art,

[*m*] L'Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris, c. v. p. 76.
[*n*] Hiſt. of Printing, p. 179.

who

who at once invented and perfected it, could lie ſo many years idle and unemployed. The Suſpicion appeared to be well grounded from an *Edition of Tully's Epiſtles at Venice*, the firſt Work of another famed Printer, *John de Spira*, *anno* 1469: Who, in the four following Verſes, at the end of the Book, claims the Honour of being the *Firſt*, who had printed in that City.

Primus in Adriaca formis impreſſit aenis
Urbe libros Spirâ genitus de ſtirpe Johannes.
In reliquis ſit quanta, vides, ſpes, Lector, habenda,
Quum labor hic primus calami ſuperaverit Artem.

It is, I know, the more current Opinion, confirmed by the Teſtimony of contemporary Writers, that *Jenſon was the Firſt Printer at Venice* [o]: But theſe Verſes of *John de Spira*, publiſhed *at the time*, as well as *the place*, in which they both lived, and *in the face of his Rival Jenſon*, without any contradiction from him, ſeem to have a weight too great to be over-ruled by any foreign Evidence whatſoever.

But whilſt I am now writing, an unexpected Inſtance is fallen into my hands, to the ſupport of my Opinion; an *Inauguration Speech of the Woodwardian Profeſſor*, *Mr. Maſon*, juſt freſh from our Preſs, with its Date given ten years

[o] Maittaire Annal. Typ. Tom. i. p. 36, *&c.* It. Append. ad Tom. i. p. 5, 6.

earlier

earlier than it ſhould have been, by the *omiſſion of* an X, *viz.* M.DCC.XXIV. and the very Blunder exemplified in the laſt Piece printed at *Cambridge*, which I ſuppoſe to have happened in the firſt from *Oxford*.

Theſe Inſtances, with many more that might be collected, ſhew the Poſſibility of my Conjecture; and, for the Probability of it, the Book itſelf affords ſufficient Proof: For, not to inſiſt on what is leſs material, the *Neatneſs of the Letter, and Regularity of the Page*, &c. above thoſe of CAXTON: it has one mark, that ſeems to carry the matter beyond probable, and to make it even certain, *viz. The Uſe of Signatures*, or Letters of the Alphabet placed at the bottom of the Page, to ſhew the Sequel of the Sheets and Leaves of each Book: an Improvement contrived for the Direction of the Bookbinders; which yet was not practiſed or invented at the time when this Book is ſuppoſed to be printed: for we find *no Signatures* in the Books of *Fauſt* or *Scheffer at Mentz*; nor in the more improved and beautiful Impreſſions of *John de Spira*, and *Jenſon, at Venice*, till ſeveral years later. We have a Book in our Library, that ſeems to fix the very time of their Invention, at leaſt in *Venice*; the Place where the Art itſelf received the greateſt Improvements: *Baldi lectura ſuper Codic.* &c. printed *by Jo. de Colonia* and *Jo. Manthen de Gherretzem, anno* M.CCCC.LXXIIII. It is a large and fair Volume in Folio, *without Signatures*,

Signatures, till about the middle of the Book, in which they are firſt introduced, and ſo continued forward: which makes it probable, that the firſt Thought of them was ſuggeſted during the time of the Impreſſion: for we have likewiſe *Lectura Bartholi ſuper Codic.* &c. in two noble and beautiful Volumes in Folio, printed the year before at the ſame place, by *Vindelin de Spira*, without them: yet from this time forward they are generally found in all the Works of *the Venetian Printers*, and from them propagated to the other Printers of *Europe*. They were uſed at *Cologne*, *anno* 1475; at *Paris*, 1476; by CAXTON, not before 1480: but if the Diſcovery had been brought into *England*, and practiſed at *Oxford* twelve years before, it is not probable that he would have printed ſo long at *Weſtminſter* without them.

Mr. *Palmer* indeed tells us, That ANTHONY ZAROT *was eſteemed the Inventor of Signatures* [*p*]; *and that they are found in a* Terence *printed by him at Milan in the year* 1470, in which he firſt printed. I have not ſeen that *Terence*, and can onely ſay, that I have obſerved the want of them in ſome later Works of this, as well as of other excellent Printers, of the ſame place. But allowing them to be in *the Terence*, and ZAROT *the Inventor*, it confutes the Date of *our Oxford Book*, as effectually, as if they were

[*p*] *Palmer*'s Hiſt. p. 180, 54.

of *later origin at Venice*; as I had reaſon to imagine, from the Teſtimony of all the old Books that I have hitherto met with.

What further confirms my Opinion is, that from the time of the pretended Date of this Book, *anno* 1468, we have no other Fruit or Production from the Preſs at *Oxford* for eleven years next following; and it cannot be imagined that a Preſs, eſtabliſhed with ſo much Pains and Expence, could be ſuffered to lie ſo long idle and uſeleſs: whereas if my conjecture be admitted, all the Difficulties that ſeem inſuperable and inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſed Æra of Printing there, will vaniſh at once. For allowing the Book to have been printed ten years later, *ann.* 1478; then the *Uſe of Signatures* can be no objection; a foreign Printer might import them; CAXTON take them up from him; and the Courſe of Printing and Sequel of Books publiſhed from *Oxford* will proceed regularly.

Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum. Oxonie MCCCCLXXVIII. 1478

Leonardi Aretini in Ariſtot. Ethic. Comment. ib. 1479

Ægidius de Roma, &c. de peccato originali. ib. 1479

Guido de Columna de Hiſtoria Trojana, per T. R. ib. 1480

Alexandri ab Hales, &c. expoſitio ſuper 3 Librum de Animâ, per me Theod. Rood. ib. 1481

Franc,

Franc. Aretini Oratoris Phalaridis Epiſtolarum e Græco in Latinum Verſio. Hoc opuſculum in Alma Univerſitate Oxoniæ, a natali Chriſtiano ducenteſima & nonageſima ſeptima Olympiade feliciter impreſſum eſt. That is, *ann.* 1485

[q] *Hoc Theodoricus Rood quem Collonia miſit*
Sanguine Germanus habile p̃ſſit [r] *opus.*
Atque ſibi ſocius Thomas fuit Anglicus Huntẽ
Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant.
Quam Jenſon Venetos docuit Vir Gallicus artem
Ingenio didicit terra Britanna ſuo.
Celatos, Veneti, nobis tranſmittere libros
Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti.
Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota Latini
Eſt eadem nobis ipſa reperta prẽs [s].
Quamvis ſẽctos [s] *toto canit orbe Britannos*
Virgilius placẽ [s] *his lingua Latina tamen.*

[q] The only Copy of this Book, that I have heard of, is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. *Randolph* of *Deal*; and the firſt notice of it was communicated by the Rev. Mr. *Lewis* of *Margate*; who, having been informed that I had drawn up this little Diſſertation, very kindly offered me the uſe of his Notes and Papers, that he had collected with great pains, on *the Hiſtory and Progreſs of Engliſh Printing, to the End of Queen Eliſabeth's Reign.* From the peruſal of which, though I found no reaſon to make any Alteration of moment in the preſent Treatiſe, yet I had a pleaſure to obſerve a perfect Agreement between us, in the chief Points on which my Argument turns, and to find my own Opinion confirmed by the Judgment of ſo able an Antiquary.

[r] *preſſit.*

[s] *premens; ſejunctos; placet.*

Theſe are all the Books printed at *Oxford* before *ann.* 1500, that we have hitherto any certain notice of. I have ſet down the *Colophon* and *Verſes* of the laſt, becauſe they have ſomething curious and hiſtorical in them. I had ſeen one inſtance before of the Date of a Book computed by *Olympiads*; *Auſonii Epigrammaton libri, &c.* printed at *Venice, ann.* 1472, with this Deſignation of the year at the end; *A nativitate Chriſti ducenteſimæ monageſimæ quintæ Olympiadis, anno.* 11 [*a*]. Where the Printer, as in the preſent Caſe, follows the common miſtake, both of the Ancients and Moderns, of taking the *Olympiad for a term of five years compleat*; whereas it really included but four, and was celebrated every fifth; as the *Luſtrum* likewiſe of the *Romans*. In our *Oxford* Book, the *year of the Olympiad* is not diſtinguiſhed, as in that of *Venice*, ſo that it might poſſibly be printed ſomewhat earlier, and nearer to the reſt in order of time: But as the 7th Verſe ſeems to refer to the *Statute of the 1ſt of Richard* III. prohibiting *the Italians* from importing and ſelling their wares in *England* by retail, *&c.* excepting *Books written or printed*; which Act paſſed *anno* 1483, ſo it could not be printed before that year. The third Verſe reſcues from oblivion the Name of an *Engliſh* Printer, *Thomas Hunte*, not mentioned before by any of our *Engliſh* Writers, not

[*a*] Mr. *Matt.* Annal. Typ. p. 98. not. h.

diſ-

diſcovered in any other Book. But what I take for the moſt remarkable, and lay the greateſt ſtreſs upon, is, that in the ſixth Verſe, *the Art and Uſe of Printing is affirmed to have been firſt ſet on foot and practiſed in this Iſland by our own Countrymen:* which muſt conſequently have a reference to CAXTON; who has no Rival of this Country to diſpute the Honour with him. And ſo we are furniſhed at laſt from *Oxford* itſelf, with a Teſtimony that overthrows the Date of their own Book.

Theodoric Rood, we ſee, came from *Cologn*; where CAXTON had reſided many years, and inſtructed himſelf in the Art of Printing, *ann.* 1471: And being ſo well acquainted with the Place, and particularly the Printers of it, might probably be the Inſtrument of bringing over this, or any other Printer, a year or two before (if there really was any ſuch) to be employed at *Oxford*; and the obſcure Tradition of this Fact give riſe to the Fiction of the Record. But however this be, it ſeems pretty clear, that CAXTON's being ſo well known at *Cologn*, and his ſetting up a Preſs at home immediately after his return from that place, which could hardly be a Secret to *Rood*, muſt be the ground of the Compliment paid to our Country, and the very thing referred to in the Verſes.

We have one Book more, without the Name of Printer or Place, which, from the Compari-

ſon of its Types with thoſe of *Rood*, is judged to be of his Printing, and added to the Catalogue of his Works [*b*]; *viz.*

Expoſicio ac moraliſacio tertij capituli trenorum Iheremie prophete. Fol. MCCCCLXXXII.

And at the end of the Index;

Explicit tabula ſuper opus trenorum compilatum per Johann. Latteburij ordinis minorum.

But the Indentity of the Letter in different Books, though a probable Argument, is not always a certain one for the Identity of the Preſs.

Beſides this *early Printing at Oxford*, our Library gives us proof of the uſe of it likewiſe, about the ſame time, *in the City of London*, much earlier than our Writers had imagined, with the Names of two, *the firſt Printers* there, that none of them take notice of; *John Lettou*, and *Will. de Machlinia.* Of the firſt, we have, *Jacobus de Valencia in Pſalterium, &c. exciſ. in civitate Londonienſi, ad expenſas Wilhelmi Wilcock, per me Johannem Lettou* MCCCCLXXXI. Fol. Of the ſecond; *Speculum Chriſtiani*, &c. and at the end; *Iſte libellus impreſſus eſt in opulentiſſima civitate Londoniarum per Wilhelmum de Machlinia, ad inſtanciam necnon expenſas Hen-*

[*b*] Mr. *Lewis*'s MSS. Papers.

rici

rici Urankerbergh mercatoris, Quarto; without Date, but in a very coarſe and *Gothic* Character, more rude than CAXTON's: And from both theſe Printers in Partnerſhip, we have the *firſt Edition* of the famous *Littleton's Tenures*; printed at *London*, in a ſmall Folio, without Date; which his great Commentator, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, had not ſeen or heard of: for in the Preface to his Inſtitutes, he ſays, *That this Work was not publiſhed in Print either by Judge* Littleton *himſelf*, *or* Richard *his Son*; *and that the firſt Edition, that he had ſeen, was printed at* Roan *in* Normandy, *ad inſtanciam Richardi Pynſon, Printer to King* Henry VIII. We have this Edition alſo in our Library, but it is undoubtedly later by thirty or forty years than the other we are ſpeaking of; which, as far as we may collect from the time noted above, in which *Joh. Lettou* printed, was probably publiſhed, or at leaſt put to the Preſs *by the Author himſelf*, who died *ann.* 1481.

Whilſt Printing was thus going forward at *Weſtminſter*, *Oxford*, and *London*, there was a Preſs alſo employed at *St. Albans*, by the Schoolmaſter of that place; whoſe Name has not had the fortune to be tranſmitted to us, though he is mentioned as a man of merit, and Friend of CAXTON. He had drawn up and printed in *Engliſh*, a Book of Chronicles, commonly called *Fructus Temporum*, *ann.* 1483, which I have never been able to meet with:

but in a later Edition of it after his death, there is the following *Colophon:*

Here endyth this preſent cronycle of England with the frute of tymes, compiled in a booke and emprynted by one ſometyme Scolemayſter of St. Albons, on whoos ſoule god have mercy, and newly emprynted at Weſtmeſtre by Wynkyn de Worde MCCCCLXXXXVII.

It was the ſame Schoolmaſter, without doubt, who printed three years before in *Latin:*

Rhetorica [*c*] *nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Saona ordinis minorum, compliata in alma Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ, ann.* 1478, *impreſſa apud Villam Sti Albani.* MCCCCLXXX.

This was once in Biſhop *More's* Library, being deſcribed in the printed Catalogue of his other rare Books [*d*]; but it is now loſt, or ſtolen from that noble Collection; which, by an example of munificence ſcarce to be paralleled, was given to our Univerſity by his late Majeſty King *George*, and will remain a perpetual Monument of the great Mind and public Spirit of that Prince.

[*c*] In a fair printed Copy of this Book, which I have ſince ſeen in *Bennet* Coll. Library, I find no mention of St. *Albans*, or place of printing, or any other date, than that of its compilation at *Cambridge*; with a MS. Note ſubjoined to the Colophon: *Hic liber excuſus Cantabrigie, poſt* 26 *annos inventionis.* This lead Mr. *Strype* into his miſtake.

[*d*] Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptor. Angl. Oxon. p. 391.

The

The ſame Book is mentioned by Mr. *Strype*, among thoſe given by Archbiſhop *Parker* to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*; but the words, *compilata in Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ*, have drawn this learned Antiquary into the Miſtake of imagining, that it was printed alſo in that year at our Univerſity, and of doing us the Honour of remarking upon it; *So ancient was Printing in Cambridge* [*e*].

We have one Piece however in our Library from this Preſs in a ſmall Folio, and at the end of it the following Advertiſement:

There in thys boke afore ar contenyt the bokys of haukyng and huntyng with other pleſuris dyverſe. And alſo of Coote armuris a nobull worke. And here now endyth the boke of blaſying of armys, tranſlatyt and compylyt togedyr at Saynt Albons MCCCCLXXXVI.

After the firſt Treatiſe of Hawking and Hunting, *&c.* is added, *Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes in her boke of hunting.* Tho' her name be ſubjoined to the firſt Part only, yet the whole is conſtantly aſcribed to her, and paſſes for her work. She was of a noble Family, Siſter to *Richard* Lord *Berners* of *Eſſex*, and Prioreſs of *Sopwell* Nunnery near *St. Albans:* She lived about the Year 1460, and is celebrated by *Leland* and other Writers for her uncommon

[*e*] Life of Archb. *Parker*, p. 519.

about

Learning and Accompliſhments, under the Name of *Juliana Berners*.

I ſhall now return to CAXTON, and ſtate as briefly as I can the poſitive Evidence that remains of his being *the firſt Printer of this Kingdom*; for what I have already alledged, is thiefly negative or circumſtantial. And here, as I hinted at ſetting out, all our Writers before the Reſtoration, who mention the Introduction of the Art amongſt us, give him the Credit of it, without any Contradiction or Variation. *Stowe*, in his *Survey of London*, ſpeaking of the 37th year of *Henry* VI. or *ann.* 1458, ſays, *The noble Science of Printing was about this time found at* Magunce *by* Joh. Guttemberg *a Knight; and* WILLIAM CAXTON *of* London *Mercer, brought it into* England, *about the year* 1471, *and firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abby of* Weſtminſter. *Truſſel* gives the ſame account in the Hiſtory of *Henry* VI, and Sir *Richard Baker* in his *Chronicle*: and Mr. *Howel* in his *Londinopolis*, deſcribes the place where the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſet up *the firſt Preſs for* CAXTON's *uſe*, in the *Almonry* or *Ambry*. But above all, the famous *Joh. Leland*, Library-Keeper to *Henry* VIII, who by way of Honour had the Title of *The Antiquary*, and lived near to CAXTON's own time, expreſly calls him, *The firſt Printer of England* [*f*], and ſpeaks honourably of his Works: And as he had ſpent ſome time in *Oxford*, after having

[*f*] De Scriptorib. *Brit.* p. 480.

firſt

firſt ſtudied and taken a Degree at *Cambridge*, he could hardly be ignorant of the Origin and Hiſtory of Printing in that Univerſity. I cannot forbear adding, for the ſake of a Name ſo celebrated, the more modern Teſtimony of Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who affirms CAXTON *to have been the firſt that imported the Art of Printing into this Kingdom* [*g*]. On whoſe Authority, I imagine, the no leſs celebrated *M. Du Pin* ſtiles him likewiſe *the firſt Printer of England* [*h*].

To the Atteſtation of our Hiſtorians, who are clear in Favor of CAXTON, and quite ſilent concerning an earlier Preſs at *Oxford*, the Works of CAXTON himſelf add great Confirmation: the *Rudeneſs of the Letter*; *Irregularity of the Page*; *want of Signatures*; *initial Letters* &c. in his firſt Impreſſions; give a Prejudice at ſight of their being the firſt Productions of the Art amongſt us. But beſides theſe Circumſtances, I have taken notice of a Paſſage in one of his Books [*i*], that amounts in a manner to a direct Teſtimony of it. *Thus end I this book, &c. and for as moche as in wrytyng of the ſame my penne is worn, myn hande wery, and myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper—and that age crepeth on me dayly—and alſo becauſe I have promyſid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addreſſe to hem as haſtely as I myght*

[*g*] Append. ad *Cave* Hiſt. liter. p. 49.
[*h*] Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Cent. XIV. p. 71. Edit. *Engl.*
[*i*] Recule, *&c.* in the end of the 3d Book.

this

this ſayd book, Therefore I have practyſed, and learned at my grete charge and diſpenſe, to ordeyne this ſayd book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here ſee, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that every man may have them attones, for all the bookes of this ſtorye named, the recule of the hiſtoryes of Troyes, thus emprynted as ye here ſee, were begonne in oon day and alſo finiſhed in oon day, &c. Now this is the very *ſtile and language of the firſt Printers*, as every body knows, who has been at all converſant with old Books. *Fauſt* and *Scheffer*, the Inventors, ſet the example in their firſt Works from *Mentz*; by advertiſing the Public at the end of each, *That they were not drawn or written by a Pen (as all Books had been before) but made by a new Art and Invention of Printing, or ſtamping them by Characters or Types of Metal ſet in Forms.* In imitation of whom, the ſucceeding Printers in moſt Cities of *Europe*, where the Art was new, generally gave the like Advertiſement; as we may ſee from *Venice*, *Rome*, *Naples*, *Verona*, *Baſil*, *Augſburg*, *Louvain*, &c. juſt as our CAXTON, in the inſtance above.

In *Pliny's* Natural Hiſtory, printed at *Venice*, we have the following Verſes:

Quem modo tam rarum cupiens viz lector haberet;
Quique etiam fractus pæne legendus eram:
Reſtituit Venetis me nuper Spira Johannes;
Exſcripſitque libros ære notante meos.

Feſſa

Feſſa manus quondam, moneo, calamuſque quieſcat:
Namque labor ſtudio ceſſit & ingenio.
M.CCCC.LXVIIII.

In a *Spaniſh* Hiſtory of *Rodericus Santius*, printed at *Rome:*

De mandato R. P. D. Roderici Epiſcopi Palentini Auctoris hujus libri, ego UPALRICUS GALLUS, *ſine calamo aut pennis, eund. librum impreſſi.*

At the End of *Cicero's* Philippic Orations:

Anſer Tarpeii cuſtos Jovis, unde, quod alis
Conſtreperes, Gallus decidit; Ultor adeſt
ULDRICUS GALLUS: *ne quem poſcantur in uſum,*
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.
Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno.
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

In *Euſebius's Chronicon*, printed in *Latin* at *Milan:*

Omnibus ut pateant, tabulis impreſſit ahenis
Utile Lavania gente Philippus opus.
Hactenus hoc toto rarum fuit orbe volumen,
Quod vix, qui ferret tædia, ſcriptor erat.
Nunc ope Lavaniæ numeroſa volumina noſtri.
Ære perexiguo qualibet urbe legunt.

And as this is a ſtrong proof of his being *our firſt Printer*; ſo it is a probable one, that this very

very Book was *the Firſt* of his printing. I have never ſeen the *Liber Feſtialis*, a Book without Date, which Mr. *Palmer* takes for *his firſt* [*k*]; but the Reaſons aſſigned for it, ſeem to agree full as well to the *Recule of the Hiſtories of Troy:* and had he met with this perfect in the end of the third Book, he would probably have been of another mind. CAXTON *had finiſhed the Tranſlation of the two firſt Books at* Cologn, ann. 1471: *and having then good leiſure, reſolved to tranſlate the third at the ſame place* [*l*]: in the end of which, we have the paſſage recited above. Now in his other Books tranſlated, as this was, from the *French*, he commonly marks the preciſe time of his entring on the Tranſlation; of his finiſhing it; and of his putting it afterwards into the Preſs: which uſed to follow each other with little or no Intermiſſion, and were generally compleated within the compaſs of a few Months. So that in the preſent caſe, after he had finiſhed the Tranſlation, which muſt be in, or ſoon after *ann.* 1471, it is not likely that he would delay the Impreſſion longer than was neceſſary for the preparing his Materials; eſpecially as he was engaged by Promiſe to his Friends, who ſeem to have been preſſing and in haſte, to deliver Copies of it to them as ſoon as poſſible.

[*k*] Hiſt. of Printing, p. 340.
[*l*] Recule, &c. end of the 2d Book.

But

But as in the Caſe of the *Firſt Printer*, ſo in this of his *Firſt Work*, we have a Teſtimony alſo from himſelf in favour of this Book: for I have obſerved that in the recital of his works, he mentions it *the firſt* in order, before the *Book of Cheſſe*, which ſeems to be a good Argument of its being actually *the firſt*. *When I had — accompliſhed dyvers workys and hyſtorys, tranſlated out of frenſhe into englyſhe at the requeſte of certayn lordes, ladyes, and gentylemen, as the recuyel of the hyſtory of Troye, the book of Cheſſe, the hyſtorye of Jaſon; the hyſtorye of the mirrour of the World— I have ſubmyſed myſelf to tranſlate into englyſhe the legende of Sayntes, called Legenda aurea, in latyn— and Wylyam Earle of Arondel deſyred me—and promyſed to take a reaſonable quantyte of them—ſente to me a worſhipful gentylman—promyſing that my. ſayd lord ſhould, durying my lyfe, geve and graunt to me a yeorely fee, that is to note, a bucke in ſommer and adoo in wynter*, &c. [*m*].

All this, added to the common marks of *earlier Antiquity*, which are more obſervable in this, than in any other of his Books that I have yet ſeen, viz. *the Rudeneſs of the Letter*, the *Incorrectneſs of the Language*; and the *greater Mixture of the French words*, than in his later Pieces; makes me conclude it to be his *firſt Work*; executed when he came freſh from a long Reſidence

[*m*] *Mattaire* Supplem. ad tom. i. Annal. p. 440. not. 4.

in foreign Parts. Nay, there are ſome Circumſtances to make us believe, that it was actually printed abroad at *Cologn*, where he finiſhed the Tranſlation, and where he had been *practiſing and learning the Art:* for after the account given above, of his having learnt to print, he immediately adds, *Whiche book I have preſented to my ſayd redoubtid lady Margrete, Ducheſſe of Bourgoyne*, &c. *and ſhe hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me*, &c. which ſeems to imply his continuance abroad till after the Impreſſion, as well as the Tranſlation of the Book. The Conjecture is much ſtrengthened by another Fact atteſted of him; That he did really print at *Cologn* the firſt Edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, in *Latin:* which is affirmed by *Wynkyn de Woorde*, in an *Engliſh* Edition of the ſame Book, in the following Lines [*n*]:

And alſo of your charyte bear in remembraunce
The ſoule of William Caxton firſt printer of this boke,
In laten tongue or Colyn himſelf to advaunce,
That every well diſpoſyd man may thereon loke.

I have never ſeen, or met with any one, who has ſeen this *Latin Edition of Bartholomæus by* CAXTON [*o*]. It is certain, that the ſame Book

[*n*] *Matt.* Ann. Append. ad tom. i. p. 31.

[*o*] There is an Edition of *Bartolomeus*, &c. in *Bennet* Coll. of an old Character; without Signatures, initial Letters, Date, or place of printing, in large fol. with a double column in each page.

was printed at *Cologn by Jo. Koelhoff*, and the firſt that appears of his printing, *ann.* 1470 [*o*], whilſt CAXTON was at the place and buſying himſelf in the Art: And if we ſuppoſe him to have been the Encourager and Promoter of the Work, or to have furniſhed the Expence of it, he might poſſibly on that account be conſidered at home as the Author of it.

It is now time to make an end, leſt I be cenſured for ſpending too much pains on a Argument ſo inconſiderable; where my only view is to ſet right ſome little Points of Hiſtory, that had been falſly or negligently treated by our Writers, to which the Courſe of my Studies and Employment engaged me to pay ſome Attention: and above all, to do a piece of Juſtice to the Memory of our worthy Countryman WILLIAM CAXTON; nor ſuffer him to be robbed of the Glory ſo clearly due to him, of having *firſt imported into this Kingdom* an Art of great Uſe and Benefit to Mankind: a kind of Merit, that in the ſenſe of all Nations, gives the beſt Title to True Praiſe, and the beſt Claim to be commemorated with Honour to poſterity: And it ought to be inſcribed on his Monument, what I find declared of another Printer, *Bartholomeus Bottonus* of *Reggio*; PRIMUS EGO IN PATRIA MODO CHARTAS ÆRE SIGNAVI, ET NOVUS BIBLIOPOLA FUI, &c. [*p*].

[*o*] Matt. Append. ad tom. i. p. 296.
[*p*] Ibid. p. 432. in not.

He had been bred very reputably in the way of Trade, and ſerved an Apprenticeſhip to one *Robert Large*, a Mercer; who after having been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of *London*, died *ann.* 1441, and left by Will, as may be ſeen in the *Prerogative-Office*, XXIIII Marks to his Apprentice WILLIAM CAXTON: a conſiderable Legacy in thoſe days, and an early Teſtimonial of his good Character and Integrity.

From the time of his Maſter's death, he ſpent the following thirty years beyond Sea, in the Buſineſs of Merchandiſe: where, in the year 1464, we find him employed by *Edward* IV. in a public and honourable Negotiation, jointly with one *Richard Whitehill*, Eſq; to tranſact and conclude a Treaty of Commerce between the King and his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom *Flanders* belonged. The Commiſſion ſtiles them, *Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos ſpeciales*; and gives to both or either of them full Powers to treat, *&c.* [*q*].

Whoever turns over his printed Works, muſt contract a Reſpect for him, and be convinced that he preſerved the ſame Character through Life of an honeſt, modeſt Man; greatly induſtrious to do good to his Country, to the beſt of his Abilities, by ſpreading among the People ſuch Books as he thought uſeful to Religion and good

[*q*] Rymer Fœd. tom. xi. p. 536. *Item* Matt. Ann. Typ. Append. ad tom. i. p. 33.

Manners,

Manners, which were chiefly tranſlated from the *French*. The Novelty and Uſefulneſs of his Art recommended him to the ſpecial notice and favour of the Great; under whoſe Protection, and at whoſe Expence, the greateſt part of his Works were publiſhed. Some of them are addreſſed to King *Edward* the Fourth; his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*; and their Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; in whoſe Service and Pay he lived many years, before he began to print; as he oft acknowledges with great Gratitude. He printed likewiſe for the Uſe, and by the expreſs Order of *Henry* the Seventh; his Son Prince *Arthur*; and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry of that Age: All which confirms the Notion of his being *the firſt Printer*; for he would hardly have been ſo much careſſed and employed, had there been an earlier and abler Artiſt all the while at *Oxford*, who yet had no Employment at all for the ſpace of eleven years.

It has been generally aſſerted and believed, that all his Books were printed in the Abby of *Weſtminſter*; yet we have no aſſurance of it from himſelf, nor any mention of the Place before *ann.* 1477: ſo that he had been printing ſeveral years, without telling us where. There is one miſtake however, worth the correcting, that the Writers have univerſally fallen into, and taken up from each other; That *John Iſlip was the Abbot* who firſt encouraged the Art, and

entertained the Artiſt in his houſe; Whereas I find upon inquiry, that he was not made Abbot till four years after CAXTON's death; and that *Thomas Milling* was Abbot *ann.* 1470, made Biſhop of *Hereford* a few years after, and probably held the Abby *in Commendam*, till the year 1485, in which *John Eſtney* next ſucceeded: So that *Milling*, who was reputed a great Scholar, muſt have been the generous Friend and Patron of CAXTON, who gave that liberal reception to an Art ſo beneficial to Learning [*r*].

This ſhews how unſafe it is to truſt to common Hiſtory, and how neceſſary to recur to original Teſtimonies, where we would know the ſtate of Facts with exactneſs. Mr. *Echard*, at the end of *Edward* the Fourth's Reign, among the Learned of that Age, mentions WILLIAM CAXTON *as a Writer of Engliſh Hiſtory*; but ſeems to doubt whether he was the *ſame with the Printer* of that Name. Had he ever looked into CAXTON's Books, the doubt had been cleared; or had he conſulted *his Chronical of England*, which it is ſtrange that *an Engliſh Hiſtorian* could neglect, he would have learnt at leaſt to fix the beginning of that Reign with more exactneſs, as it is noted above, juſt two years earlier than he has placed it [*s*].

[*r*] *Willis*'s Hiſt. of Mitred. Abbies, vol. i. p. 206.
[*s*] Hiſt. of Engl.

There

There is no clear account left of CAXTON's Age: but he was certainly very old, and probably above fourſcore, at the time of his death. In the year 1471 he complained, as we have ſeen, of the Infirmities of Age creeping upon him, and feebling his body; yet he lived twenty-three years after, and purſued his Buſineſs with extraordinary Diligence, in the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, till the year 1494, in which he died; not in the year following, as all, who write of him, affirm. This appears from ſome Verſes at the end of a Book, called, *Hilton's Scale of Perfection*, printed in the ſame year.

Infynite laud with thankynges many folde
I yield to God me ſocourying wyth his grace
This boke to finyſhe whiche that ye beholde
Scale of perfeccion calde in every place
Whereof th auctor Walter Hilton was
And Wynkyn de Worde this hath ſett in print
In William Caxtons hows ſo fyll the caſe,
God reſt his ſoule. In joye ther mot it ſtynt.
Impreſſus anno ſalutis MCCCCLXXXXiiii.

Though he had printed for the uſe of *Edward* IV. and *Henry* VII. yet I find no ground for the Notion which *Palmer* takes up, that the firſt Printers, and particularly CAXTON, were *ſworn Servants and Printers to the Crown:* for CAXTON, as far as I have obſerved, gives not the leaſt hint of any ſuch Character or Title; though it ſeems to have been inſtituted not long

after his death: for of his two principal Workmen *Richard Pynſon*, and *Wynkinde Worde*, the one was made *Printer to the King*; the other, to the *King's Mother the Lady Margaret*. *Pynſon* gives himſelf the firſt Title, in *the Imitation of the Life of Chriſt*, printed by him at the Commandment of the Lady *Margaret*, who had tranſlated the fourth Book of it from the *French*, *ann.* 1504: and *Wynkin de Worde* aſſumes the ſecond, in *The ſeven Penitential Pſalms*, expounded by Biſhop *Fiſher*, and printed *ann.* 1509.

But there is the Title of a Book given by *Palmer*, that ſeems to contradict what is here ſaid of *Pynſon*, viz. *Pſalterium ex mandato victorioſiſſimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi, per Gulielmum Fanque, Impreſſorem Regium, anno* M.D.IIII. which being the only Work that has ever been found of this Printer, makes it probable, that he died in the very year of its Impreſſion, and was ſucceeded immediately by *Richard Pynſon:* whoſe uſe of the ſame Title ſo ſoon after, ſhews the Writers to be miſtaken in this, and ſeveral other particulars relating to his Hiſtory, as well as that of *Wynkin de Worde*, which it is not my preſent Buſineſs to explain.

A CATALOGUE of Books printed by CAXTON, which are in the Public Library at *Cambridge*.

THE *Game of the Cheſſe*; [*a*] tranſlatid out of *Frenſhe* into *Engliſſhe*—fynyſhed the laſt daye of *Marche*, the yere of our Lord God a thouſand foure honderd and LXXIIII. *Fol.* 1474

The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philoſophhres; tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* by *Antone* Erle of *Ryvyers*, Lord of *Scales* and of the *Ile of Wyght*, Defendour and Directour of the Siege Apoſtolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of *Englond*, uncle and governour to my lord the Prynce of *Wales*, &c. enprynted at *Weſtmeſtre* [*b*]. *Fol.* 1477

[*a*] To the right noble, right excellent and vertuous Prince *George* Duc of *Clarence*, Erle of *Warwick* and of *Salisburye*, grete Chamberlayn of *Englond* and Leutenant of *Irelond*, oldeſt brother of King *Edward* 4, *&c.*——I have put me in devoir to tranſlate a lityll book late comen into myn handes—in whiche I fynde th auctorites dictes and ſtories of auncient doctours, philoſophres, *&c.* been recounted and applied unto the moralite of the publique wele after the game and playe of the Cheſſe.

[*b*] The Book was tranſlated out of *Latin* into *French* by *Jehan de Teonville* Provoſt of *Paris*, and given in *Engliſh* by Erle *Ryvyers* to be reviſed and corrected by CAXTON, who added a Chapter of *Socrates's* Sayings againſt Women.

The boke namyd *Cordyal*—whiche treteth of the foure laſt thinges: deth, jugement, helle, heven. Tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* by the noble and vertuouſe lord *Anthoine* Erle of *Ryvyers*, &c. delivered to me to be enprynted on the ſecund of *Feverer* 1478, and fynyſhed on the even of th anunciacion the 24th of *Marche*, XIX of *Edward* IV. *Fol.* 1479

The Cronicles of Englond; [*c*] fynyſhed the X of *Juyn*, and enprynted in the Abbey of *Weſtmeſtre*. *Fol.* 1480

A deſcripcion of Britayne and Irlond; taken oute of the *Policronicon*. Fynyſhed XVIII of *Anguſt* 1480

Th ymage or myrrour of the world; tranſlated from the *Frenſhe*, [*d*] and fynyſhed the VIII of *Marche*, the XXI yere of Kynge *Edw.* IV. 1480

Godefrey

[*c*] Compiled by CAXTON, and carried down to 1460. This Book is commonly taken to be the ſame, and confounded by our Writers with the Chronicle called *Fructus temporum*; but they are different Works, compiled and printed by different Authors, at different times; as will appear by comparing the account given of the latter in the *Diſſertation*, p. 13.

[*d*] It treteth of the World and the wonderful dyviſiõn, thereof, in whiche a man reſonable may ſee by the figures therein the ſituacion and moevying of the firmament and how the unyverſal erthe hangeth in the myddle of the ſame —tranſlated out of *Latyn* into *Frenche* 1245, and now rudely out of *Frenſhe* into *Engliſſhe* by me ſymple perſone *William Caxton* at the requeſt coſte and diſpenſe of the honourable and worſhipful *Hughe Bryce* Alderman and Cytezeyn of *London*, entendyng to preſent the ſame unto the vertuous noble and puiſſant lord *William* lord *Haſtynges* chamberlayn unto

Godefrey of Boloyne, or the laſt ſiege and conqueſt of Jheruſalem; tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* in th abbaye of *Weſtmeſtre* [*e*]. *Fol.* 1481

Tullius of old age; *and of friendſhip*; *with the declamacyon of P. Cornelius Scipio and C. Flamyneus before the Senate, on the queſtion, Wherein nobleſſe reſteth?* tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* [*f*]. *Fol.* 1481

Poly-

unto the Kynge and his lieutenant of the town of *Calais*—in whiche tranſlacion I knowleche myſelf ſymple rude and ignoraunt, wherfor I humbly byſeeche my ſayd lord to perdoune me —— I began to tranſlate the 2d of *Janyver* 1480, fynyſhed VIII of *Marche* XXI of the moſt cryſten Kynge *Edw.* 4. under the ſhadowe of whos noble proteccion, *&c.*

[*e*] With many hiſtories therein compriſed——reduced out of *Frenſhe* by me ſimple perſon——to th end that every criſten man may be the better encoraged t enterpriſe warre for the defenſe of criſtendom and to recover the ſayd Cyte, *&c.* which boke I preſente unto the mooſte criſten Kynge *Edw.* 4. began the XII of *Marche*, fynyſhed VII day of *Juyn*—and enprynted XX of *Novembre*, XXI yere of *Edw.* 4.

[*f*] *Tulle* of old age tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Frenſhe* by *Laurence de primo facto*——and enprynted by me ſimple perſon *William Caxton* into *Englyſſhe* at the plaiſir, ſolace and reverence of men growing into old age, the XII day of *Aug.* M CCCC LXXXI. TULLIUS DE SENECTUTE was tranſlated by the ordenaunce and deſyre of the noble and auncient knyght Sir *Johan Faſtolf* of *Norfolke* Bannerette, lyvynge the age of fourſcore yere, exerciſyng the warrys for the unyverſal welfare of both Royames of *Englond* and *Fraunce* for forty yeres, admynyſtring juſtice and polytique governaunce under three kynges, *Henry* 4, 5, 6. governour of the duchy of *Angeou*, &c. TULLIUS DE AMICICIA, was tranſlated by the noble famous Erle of *Wurceſtre* ſone and heyer to the lord *Typtoft*, which in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunnyng, to whom I knewe none lyke emonge the

lordes

Polycronicon; compiled in *Latin* by *Ranulph Higden* Monk of *Cheſtre*. Tranſlated into *Engliſſhe* by *John Treviſa* vycarye of *Barkeley*, at the requeſt of *Thomas* lord *Barkeley*. Continued from 1357 to 1460, by me ſimple perſon *William Caxton*. Ended 2d of *Juyll* XXII of *Edward* IV. a thouſand foure honderd and foure-ſcore and tweyne. *Fol.* 1482

The legende of Sayntes, called the Golden legende; tranſlated out of *Frenſhe*, and fynyſhed the XX day of *Novemb.* the fyrſt yere of kyng *Richard* the thyrd, at *Weſtmeſtre* [g]. *Fol.* 1483

The boke called Caton; [or *Cato's* Precepts in *Latin*, with a Verſion and Comment in *Engliſh*] tranſlated

lordes of the temporalite in ſcience and moral vertue—the *Declamacyon* was tranſlated alſo by the Erle—whiche late pitouſly loſt his lyf.—When I had enprynted the boke of *old age*,—me ſeemed it according that this ſayd boke *of friendſhip* ſhould follow, bycauſe there cannot be annexed to old age a better thynge than good and very friendſhip;—whiche lytil volume I have empryſed to enprynte under the umbre and ſhadowe of the noble proteccion of our mooſt dradde ſovcrayn and mooſt criſten kyng *Edward* the fourthe, to whom I mooſt humbly byſeeche to receyve the ſayd boke, *&c.*

[g] We have three Copies of this Book, but all imperfect, both in the beginning and end; ſo that they give us neither the Title nor the Date: but from the Contents it appears to be the ſame that is deſcribed by Mr. *Mattaire* under the Title of *La Legende Doree*, printed 1483. in large Folio, each Page in two Columns. The Catalogue of CAXTON's Works given by *Palmer* and *Bagford*, recites two Editions of a Book called *Vitas Patrum*; but they are probably no other than different Editions of *the Golden Legend*, which from a ſimilitude of the Subject they have miſtaken for the other Work; which in reality was never publiſhed

tranſlated out of *Frenſhe*, in th abbaye of *Weſtmynſtre*, XXIII of *Decembre*, the firſt of *Rych.* III. dedicated to the Cyte of *London* [*h*]. *Fol.* 1483

The book of th enſeignmentes and techynge that the Knyght of the Toure made to his daughters. Tranſlated out of *Frenſhe*. Enprynted the laſt daye of *Janyver*, the firſt of *Rich.* III. [*i*] *Fol.* 1483

publiſhed by CAXTON; who, after having tranſlated and prepared it for the Preſs, died before the Impreſſion; which was executed afterwards by *Wynkyn de Worde*, with this Colophon:

Vitas Patrum. The ryht devout and ſolytary lyf of the auncyent or olde holy faders hermytes dwellying in the deſerts—upon whiche have wryten St. *Jerom*—tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* into *Engliſſhe* by *Wyllyam Caxton* of *Weſtmynſtre* late deed, and fynyſhed at the laſt daye of his lyff—enprynted in the ſayd towne of *Weſtmynſtre* by me *Wynkyn de Worde*. 1495.

[*h*] To the noble auncyent and renommed Cyte, the Cyte of *London* in *Englond*, I *William Caxton* Cytezeyn and Conjurye of the ſame, of the fraternyte and felauſhip of mercerye owe of ryght my ſervyſe and good wyll, and of very dute am bounden naturelly to aſſiſte and counceille as ferforth as I can, as to my moder, of whom I have receyved my noureture and lyvynge, and ſhal praye for the good proſperite and polecye of the ſame duryng my lyf, &c.

[*i*] Whiche boke is comen to my handes by the requeſt and deſyre of a noble lady which hath brougt forth many fayr dougters—and for the ziele and love that ſhe hath to her fayr children—hath deſyred me to tranſlate it into *Engyliſſh*—in whiche werke I fynd many good enſeignmentis & lernynges by evydent hiſtoryes of auctorite and good enſamples for al maner of peple in generally, but in eſpecyal for ladyes and gentilwymen dougters to lordes and gentilmen, &c.

The

The Ryal book, or book for a kyng [*k*]; in whiche ben compryſed the x commandments, the xii artycles of the fayth, the vii dedely ſynnes, the vii petycions of the *Pater noſter*, the yeftes of the holy ghooſt, the vii vertues, *&c.* reduced out of *Frenſhe into Englyſhe at the requeſte of a ſynguler frende, a mercer of London. Fynyſhed* xiii *Septem. the ſecond of* Rich. III. *Fol.* 1484

The book of good maners [*l*]; delyvered to me by a ſpecyal frende of myn a mercer of *London* named *William Praat*; tranſlated out of *Frenſhe*. Fynyſhed the viii of *Juyn*, M.IIIICLXXXVI. firſt yere of kyng *Harry* the VII. enprynted xi of *Maye* after. *Fol.* 1487

The doctrinal of ſapyence; ryght utile and prouffytable to alle cryſten men; tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* at *Weſtmeſter*, *and fynyſhed* vii of *May*. W. C. [*m*] 1489

The

[*k*] Compiled atte requeſte of kyng *Phelyp le Bele* of *Fraunce*, 1279. reduced out of *Frenſhe* into *Engliſſhe* by me —atte requeſte of a worſhipful marchaunt and mercer of *London*—for a ſpecyal book to knowe al vyces, and braunches of them alſo al vertues—whiche for—the right grete ſubſtance whiche is compryſed therein may and ought to be called ryal—and alſo bycauſe that it was made atte requeſt of that ryght noble kyng *Phelyp*.

[*l*] Compiled by the venerable Frere *Jaques le Graunt* lycencyat in Theologye religyous of the ordre of St. *Auguſtin*—whiche book is of auctorite for as moche as there is nothyng ſayd therein but for the mooſt parte it is alledged by ſcrypture or ellis by ſayeng of holy ſeyntes doctours philoſophres.—

[*m*] The ryght reverent fader in God *Guy de Roye* by the dyvine myſeracion Archebyſhop of *Sence* hath doon it

to

The book of the fayt of armes and chyvalrie whiche Chriſtyne *of* Pyſe *drewe out of* Vegecius *de re militari*; which book being in *Frenſhe* was delyvered to me by the mooſt criſten kyng my ſoverayn lord, *Hen.* VII. to be tranſlated into *Engliſhe*, XXIII. of *Jan.* the IIII yere of his reign.——Enprynted XIIII *Juyll* next following. *Fol.* 1489

The boke of Eneydos——made in *Latyn* by that noble Poete and grete clerke *Vyrgyle*;—— tranſlated from the *Frenche* into *Engliſſhe* [proſe] XXII *Juyn*, fyfthe of *Hen.* VII [*n*]. *Fol.* W. C. 1490

Confeſſio

to be wreton for the helthe of his ſoule and of the ſoules of alle hys people—and in ſpecyal it is made for ſymple layemen—to ſtir them up to devotion.—

All our Writers on Printing obſerve, that CAXTON diſtinguiſhed his Impreſſions by a particular Device, conſiſting of the initial Letters of his Name, with a cypher between, which they interpret to ſtand for 74, and to refer to the firſt year of his Printing 1474: but as far as I can find, he began only to uſe this Cypher near the end of his Life, and in his lateſt works; this Book being the firſt of this Catalogue, in which I have obſerved it to be applied, as it generally is in thoſe that he afterwards publiſhed.

[*n*] I praye Mayſter *Joh. Skelton* late created poete laureate in the Univerſite of *Oxenforde* to overſee and correcte this boke—for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne every dyffyculte that is therein—for he hath late tranſlated the Epyſtles of *Tulle* and the boke of *Dyodorus Siculus* and dyverſe other werkes out of *Latyn*, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyſhed and ornate termes craftily, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle*, *Ovide*, *Tulle* and all the other noble poetes and oratours, to me unknown—and alſo he hath redde

Confeſſio Amantis. A Poem in *Engliſhe* by *John Gover. Fol.* at *Weſtmeſtre* [*o*]. 1493

A book containing many godly treatiſes; tranſlated out of *Frenſſh* [*p*] *Fol.* W. C. 1493

The

redde the IX muſes, and underſtande their muſicalle ſcyences, and to whom of theym eche ſcyence is appropred. I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of *Elicon*'s well—whiche boke I preſente unto the hye born my tocommynge naturell and ſoverayn lord *Arthur* Prynce of *Walys*, Duc of *Cornewayll* and Erle of *Cheſter* fyrſt bygoten ſon and heyer unto our moſt dradde naturall and ſoverayn lord and moſt cryſten kyng *Henry* VII.

[*o*] Enprynted at *Weſtmeſtre* and fynyſhed the 2d of *Septem.* the fyrſt yere of Kynge *Rich.* III. MCCCCLXXXXIII.—From the inconſiſtent account of the Date of this Book, it appears, that either an x muſt have been added by miſtake to the year of Impreſſion; or, what I rather take to be the caſe, this was a ſecond Edition printed x years later than the firſt, but with the very ſame *Colophon*, excepting this change of its Date. The Author was contemporary with *Chaucer*, and a celebrated Poet and Scholar in that Age.—At the end of his Work there is an Advertiſement in *Latin* to this Effect:

Pray for the Soul of *John Gower*; for whoſoever prays for his Soul, ſhall mercifully enjoy in the Lord a thouſand and five hundred days of pardon, granted in due form by the Church, for each time that he ſhall ſo pray.

[*p*] By a perſone that is unperfight in ſuch werke, wherefor he humbly byſeche the learnyd reders wyth pacyens to correcte it—and of their charyte to pray for the ſoule of the tranſlatour—the boke treateth fyrſt of the gloryous paſſion of our Savyour, and the compoſcyon that his bleſſyd moder had therof; and alſo wherefor we ought to love our Savyour more than ony other thynge.

Alſo

The Decades of the ocean; written by *Pet. Martyr* of *Angleria*, &c. 1494. *Bibliothec. Petroburg.*

The works of Chaucer; by *William Caxton*; 1498. *ibid.*

Books without a Date.

The recuyell or gadryng togeder of the hiſtoryes of Troye;——tranſlated out of *Frenſhe* [*q*]. *Fol.*

Boecius de conſolacione philoſophie; tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geffrey Chaucer* [*r*]. *Fol.*

The

Alſo ſheweth another treatiſe moche prouffytable for reformacyon of ſoules defoyled wyth ony of the VII dedely ſynnes.

Item, Another ſhewynge the ſignes of gooſtly love.

Item, A treatiſe of the vertues and of the braunches of the appultree whiche is expouned morally.

Alſo is declared wherby men maye ſeke the love of our Lord.

And the laſt treatyſe ſpekyth to exhorte the perſone to eſchewe and have in contempte all evyll thoughtes—— whiche boke was lately tranſlated out of *Frenſhe*, 1493, by a right well dyſpoſed perſone, for bycauſe he thoughte it neceſſary to al devoute peple to rede or here it redde. And alſo cauſed the ſayd boke to be enprynted.

[*q*] Tranſlated out of *Latyn* into *Frenſhe*, by the venerable perſone *Raoul le Fevre* preeſt, and by me indigne and unworthy tranſlated into this rude *Engliſſh*, by the commandment of my ſayd redoubtid lady duches of *Bourgone*—whice werke [of tranſlating] was begonne in *Brugis*, and contynued in *Gaunt*, and finyſhed in *Coleyn*, 1471.—

[*r*] For as moche as the ſtile of it is harde and difficile to be underſtonde of ſimple perſones, Therfore the worſhipful

The lyf of the gloryous Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katharyn of Sene [*s*], with *The Revelacyons of Saynt Elyſabeth the kynges dougter of Hungarye* [*t*]. Fol. W. C.

Speculum ful fader and firſt foundeur and enbeliſſher of ornate eloquence in our *Engliſſh*, I mene Mayſter *Geffrey Chaucer*, hath tranſlated it oute of *Latyn* into oure uſual and moder tongue, followyng the *Latyn* as neygh as is poſſible to be underſtande. Wherein in myne oppynon he hath deſervid a perpetuel lawde and thanke of al this noble royame of *England*.—Thenne for as moche as this ſayd boke ſo tranſlated is rare and not ſpred ne knowen as it is digne and worthy, for the erudicion of ſuche as ben ignoraunt, atte requeſte of a ſinguler frende and goſſib of myne, I *William Caxton* have done my devoir tenprynte it in fourme as is here afore made.——And further-more I deſire and require you that of your charite ye wold praye for the ſoul of the ſayd worſhipful man *Geff. Chaucer*, firſt tranſlatour of this ſayd boke into *Engliſſh* and enbeliſſher in making the ſayd langage ornate and fayr.——

To the end of the Book is added the Epitaph of *Chaucer* in *Latin* Verſe, made at the Inſtance and Coſt of CAXTON, by *Stephen Surigon* of *Milan*, Poet Laureat. The Book is without Signatures, Date, and Place of Printing, which ſhews it to be one of his earlieſt Works.

[*s*] I purpos by our Lordis mercy—to tranſlate into *Engliſſhe, the Legende and the bleſſed lyf of an holy mayde and virgyn*.—This Legende compyled a worſhipfull clerk Fryer *Reymond* of the ordre of Saynt *Domynic*, doctor of devynyte and confeſſour of this holy virgyn.—In this tranſlacion I leve of—al poyntes of devynyte which paſſeth your underſtondyng—and that thou geve full credence to that I ſhal wryte, the veryte may be prevyd wythout noy ſcynyng bi ſcryptures of her confeſſours — and alſo the wytnes I purpoſe to put in at the ende of eche chapytre, as that worſhipful Clerke did.——

[*t*] Saynt *Elyſabeth* aboute the endynge of her lyff, the whiche was 1231, affermyd that ſhe had ſeyn and herde,

as

Speculum vite Chriſti; *or, the myrroure of the bleſſyd lyf of Jheſu Chryſte*; compiled from the *Latin* book of Dr. *Bonaventure de meditacione vite Criſti* [*u*];——together with a ſhorte treatyce of the hyeſt and moſte worthy Sacramente of Chriſtes bleſſid body, and the marveylles thereof. *Fol.* W. C.

Directorium Sacerdotum: ſive Ordinale ſecundum uſum Sarum, una cum Defenſorio ejuſdem Direc-

as it is above wryten: and ſhe ſayde that ſhe hadde ſo grete certaynte of theym all, that ſhe wolde rather ſuffre deth thenne to doubte ony lytyll part of theim that they were not trewe.

[*u*] Memorandum, quod circa annum Domini 1410, originalis copia hujus libri in Anglicis preſentebatur Londoni per compilatorem ejuſdem, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Thome Arundell Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ad inſpiciendum & debite examinandum, antequam fuerat libere communicata. Qui poſt inſpectionem ejuſdem per dies aliquot retradens ipſum librum memorato ejuſdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in ſingulis commendavit & approbavit, necnon & auctoritate ſua metropolitica utpote catholicum publice communicandum decrevit & mandavit ad fidelium edificationem & hereticorum ſive Lollardorum confutacionem.

And ſo for as moche as in the boke ben conteyned dyverſe ymagynacyons of Cryſtes lyf, the whiche lyf from the begynnynge in to the endying eyver bleſſyd and without ſynne paſſynge alle the lyves of alle other ſayntes, as for a ſynguler prerogatyve maye be cleped *The bleſſyd lyf of Jheſu Criſte*, the whyche alſo bycauſe hyt maye not be fully deſcryved, as the lyves of other ſayntes, but in a mannere of lykeneſſe as the ymage of mannes face is ſhewed in the myrrour, therfore as for a pertynent name to thys booke hyt may ſkylfully be cleped *The Myrroure of the bleſſyd lyf of Jheſu Cryſte*.

torij [x]; item Tractatus qui dicitur, *Crede michi* [y]. *Fol.*

The book of fame; made by *Geffrey Chaucer* [z]. *Fol.*

The Chaſtyſing of Goddes Chyldren; a book prouffytable for mannes ſoule and right comfort-

[x] Ad fin.——Impreſſum eſt hoc directorium cum defenſorio ejuſdem per *William Caxton*, apud Weſtmonaſterium prope London.

[y] Crede michi

ſequentes Articuli ventulati ſunt & approbati per canonicos eccleſie Sarum.—

Ad fin.——Quia vero in hoc opere non ſcribitur aliqua regula niſi ſit vera ſecundum ordinale Sarum & bene ventilata, ac peritorum virorum teſtimonio ac ſigillis confirmata. Ideo preſens opuſculum vocatur CREDE MIHI, nam qui predictas regulas inemoriter tenet vix poterit errare in ſervicio divino, Deo gratias.

This is the only Book that we have of CAXTON's printing in *Latin*; which I have not obſerved to be mentioned in any Catalogue of his Works. It confutes a Notion that has commonly obtained, that he confined himſelf to the printing of *Engliſh*. Though, beſides the preſent Volume, which is of no ſmall ſize in Folio, and a *Latin* Edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, aſcribed to him by *Wynkyn de Worde*, there is a good deal of the *Latin* Text intermixed with ſome of the Tranſlations that he publiſhed: as of *Boetius de conſolatione*; *Cato*; *the* XII *Prouffytes of Tribulacyon*; *Speculum vite Criſti*, &c.

[z] Whiche werke as me ſemeth be craftily made, for he towchyth in it ryght grete wyſedom and ſubtyll underſtondying, and ſo in all his werkeys he excellyth in my opynyon all other wryters in our *Engliſſh*, for he wryteth no voyde wordes, but alle hys matter is full of hye and quycke ſentence.——To whom ought to be gyven laude and preyſying for hys noble makyng and wrytyng,—for of him alle other have borowed ſyth and taken.——

able

able to the body, and ſpecially in adverſite. *Fol.*

A boke compoſed of diverſe ghoſtly matters; of whiche

The fyrſt treatiſe is named *Orologium Sapiencie* [*a*], ſhewing VII poyntes of true love of everlaſtyne wyſdom. At *Weſtmynſtre.*

The ſeconde ſheweth XII *prouffytes of tribulacion* [*b*]. W. C.

The thyrde ſheweth *the holy rule of Saynt Benet* [*c*]; emprynted at *Weſtmynſtre* by deſiryn of certeyn worſhipfull perſones, *Quarto.*

[*a*] That name was gyven therto as hyt is ſeyde in the proheme of the boke, bycauſe that the mater thereof was ſhewyn to hym that wrote hit, as in a viſioun, under the figure and likeneſs of a wonder fayre *Orologe* ſetet and arayed with paſſynge fayre Roſes and wyth Symbales ſwete ſownynge. *&c.*——

Qui legit emendet, preſſorem non reprehendat
Wyllelmum Caxton. Cui deus alta tradat.

[*b*] A lytill ſhorte treatyſe that tellyth how there were VII mayſters aſſembled togydre everyche one aſked other what thynge they myghte beſt ſpeke of that myght pleſe God, and were mooſt profitable to the people. And all they were accorded to ſpeke of tribulacyon.

[*c*] A compendious abſtracte tranſlate into *Engliſſhe* out of the holy rule of Saynt *Benet* for men and wymen of the habyte thereof the whiche underſtonde lytyll *Laten* or none, to the entent that they maye often rede, execute the hole rewll and the better kepe it than it is, accordyng to the abyte and their ſtreyte profeſſyon, *&c.*

A collection of *Chaucer*'s Poems [*d*]. *Quarto.*

There is an Edition of *the Game of Cheſſe*, without date, with wooden Cuts, of *Maur. Johnſon*, Eſq.

The life and death of king Arthur, called *la mort d'Arthur*, without date or Printer's name, in a large black letter with wooden cuts. *Penes* M. J.

Hiſtory of Reynard the Foxe, tranſlated from *Dutche* by *William Caxton*, in th' Abbay of *Weſtmeſtre*, 1481. *Penes* M. J.

[*d*] This Book is without Signatures, Date, Place, or Name of Printer, and contains the following Pieces:

Stans puer ad menſam; or, Leſſons of Behaviour to the Young.

An holy *Salve regina* in *Engliſh*.

Parvus Catho.

Magnus Catho, in four Books.

Fable of the Chorle and the Birde.

——of the Horſe, the Ghoos, and the Sheep, *&c.*

A liſt of proper terms or phraſes, in ſpeaking of beaſts, birds, *&c.*

The Temple of glaſs.

Scipio's dream, called *The Parlaiment of Birds*; or *Temple of braſs*.

A treatyſe whiche *John Skogan* ſente unto the lordes and gentilmen of the kinges hows, exortynge them to loſe no tyme in their yougthe.

The good counceyl of *Chaucer*; or, the Book of curteſye.

Annelida and *Arcyte*.

Chaucer's complaint to his purſe.

The nuoye of *Chaucer* to Kynge *Henry* the Fourth.

THE INDEX.

N. B. *Pref.* ſtands for *Preface*; *Intr.* for *Introductory Diſcourſe*; *Poſt.* for *Poſtſcript*; *N.* for *Note.* The Numerals refer to the Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages of the ſeveral Tracts.

A.

ACADEMY, its peculiar character and diſtinction to deliver nothing dogmatically, and to follow only the probable, iii. 78.

ADDISON, Mr. his obſervation on the impoſture of the holy houſe of *Loretto*, v. 150. affirms, that the melting of St. *Januarius*'s blood was one of the moſt bungling tricks that he had ever ſeen, v. 152.

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